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Spalding

THE
CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

THE
CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND;

BY
THOMAS INNES.

A.D. LXXX.—DCCCXVIII.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.....	ix
APPENDIX TO PREFACE.....	xxxix
CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.....	lv
THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE	lxiii
THE CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND	
—BOOK FIRST.....	3
—BOOK SECOND.....	107
—CHRONOLOGICAL MEMOIRS.....	221
THE INDEX.....	337



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THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

LITTLE is known of the life of THOMAS INNES, the author of the *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, and of the *Civil and Ecclesiastical History* which is now printed for the first time. I will incorporate, in these prefatory remarks, the substance of what has already been given in the only biographical notices ⁽¹⁾ of which I am aware, and will add any further information which I have been able to obtain.

THOMAS INNES was born at Drumgask, in the parish of Aboyne and county of Aberdeen, in the year 1662. He was the second son of James Innes, wadsetter of Drumgask, by his wife Jane Robertson, daughter of — Robertson, merchant in Aberdeen.⁽²⁾ The family of Drumgask was descended from the Inneses of Drainie, in the county of Murray. The father of Thomas Innes held Drumgask in mortgage from the Earl of Aboyne, but it afterwards became the irredeemable property of the family. James

⁽¹⁾ These are the following:—First, the *Life of Thomas Innes* in Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, first edit. vol. iii. pp. 182-186; second, a notice in the Preface to the Second Volume of the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, pp. cxiv-cxxi; third, a notice in the Preface to the *Chartulary of the Church of Glasgow*, pp. vi-viii.

⁽²⁾ The date of Thomas Innes's birth is mentioned on the fly-leaf of a missal belonging to the late family of Ballogie. He himself alludes to Aboyne as the parish of his birth in his *History*, p. 301, at the conclusion of his remarks on S. Adamnan, to whom the parish church was dedicated.

Innes of Drumgask appears in the lists of the Commissioners of Supply, named for the Sherifffdom of Aberdeen in the first Parliament of King James VII., and in the Convention of Estates in 1689.⁽¹⁾ As he was a conscientious member of the Church of Rome, it is not likely that he acted on the latter of these occasions. In the Parliament of King James he was, with several others, exempted by name from taking the Oath of Supremacy and the Test.⁽²⁾ A letter from him to his eldest son Lewis, dated 7th May, 1688, is printed in the second volume of the Miscellany of the Spalding Club. It conveys a very agreeable impression of the writer, and shews the religious principle and mutual affection which bound together the family of Drumgask.

In 1677, Thomas Innes, then fifteen years of age, was sent to Paris, and pursued his studies at the College of Navarre. He entered the Scots College on the 12th of January, 1681, but still attended the College of Navarre.⁽³⁾ On the 26th of May, 1684, he received the clerical tonsure, and, on the 10th March, 1691, was promoted to the priesthood. After this he went to Notre-Dame des Vertues, a seminary of the Oratorians, near Paris, where he continued for two or three months. Returning to the Scots College in 1692, he assisted the Principal, his elder brother Lewis, in arranging the records of the Church of Glasgow,⁽⁴⁾ which had been deposited partly in that college, partly in the Carthusian

⁽¹⁾ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. viii. p. 463, and vol. ix. p. 472.

⁽²⁾ Wodrow's History, Burns' edit. vol. iv. p. 347.

⁽³⁾ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. cxvi. There is in the Library at Blairs a copy of Dion Cassius, awarded to him by the College of Navarre, 19th August, 1681, for a Greek oration.

⁽⁴⁾ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 370. Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, Preface, p. vi.

monastery at Paris by Archbishop James Beaton. In 1694 he took the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Paris, and, in the following year, was matriculated in the German nation.⁽¹⁾

After officiating as a priest for two years in the parish of Magnay, in the diocese of Paris, he came again to the Scots College in 1697. In the spring of 1698 he returned to his native country, and officiated, for three years, at Inveravon as a priest of the Scottish Mission.⁽²⁾ The Church at Inveravon was the prebend of the Chancellor of the diocese of Murray, and he alludes to this circumstance, and to his three years' residence in that parish, in his Dissertation on the reception of the Use of Sarum by the Church of Scotland.⁽³⁾ He again went to Paris, in October, 1701, and became Prefect of Studies in the Scots College, and Mission Agent.⁽⁴⁾

I have been unable to trace any external change in the condition of Thomas Innes for more than twenty years after the event last mentioned. He was no doubt occupied in the quiet discharge of his duties, and in those literary pursuits by which his name is now known. One circumstance appears to have caused him considerable uneasiness. He fell, with some, under the suspicion of Jansenism. There is no evidence of any formal accusation having been made against him,⁽⁵⁾ but in France, in the beginning of last century, the mere suspicion of Jansenism was enough to cause

⁽¹⁾ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. cxvi.

⁽²⁾ Ibid.

⁽³⁾ Ibid. p. 366.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid. p. cxvi.

⁽⁵⁾ The Statement quoted in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. cxviii, is avowedly destitute of much authority, and, in point of time, is irreconcilable with the true order of events in Innes's life, unless James II. be a mistake for James III.

serious injury to a clergyman, not only in popular estimation, but with the authorities in Church and State. His known intimacy with Rollin, Duguet, and Santeul, may probably have given rise to the suspicion. He himself was much vexed in consequence; and, in the year 1720, his brother Lewis, in what appears to have been a formal letter to the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Apt, contradicted a report that he had concurred in the appeal to a General Council against the condemnation of Quesnel's *Moral Reflections*, by Pope Clement XI.⁽¹⁾ There is no appearance of Jansenism in his historical works, although they mark clearly his decided opposition to Ultramontaniam.

After a long absence he again visited his native country. The object of his visit was probably to collect materials for his *Essay* and his *History*. I have not ascertained the date of his leaving France, or how long he continued in Britain. It is known that he was in Edinburgh during the winter of 1724, and that he had come thither through England. This appears from a notice in the *Analecta* of Wodrow,⁽²⁾ whose curiosity was naturally excited by the appearance of a Roman Catholic priest from abroad. This notice is valuable, also, as alluding to the work now printed, and may, therefore, be given at length:—

“ There is one Father Innes, a priest, brother to Father Innes
“ of the Scots College at Paris, who has been in Edinburgh all
“ this winter, and mostly in the Advocates' Library, in the hours
“ when open, looking books and manuscripts. He is not engaged

⁽¹⁾ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. cxvii.

⁽²⁾ *Analecta*, vol. iii. pp. 516, 517. These passages are quoted, though not altogether at full length, in Chambers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. iii. p. 188. and in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. ii. pp. cxviii, cxix.

“ in politics, so far as can be guessed ; and is a monkish, bookish,
“ person, who meddles with nothing but literature. I saw him at
“ Edinburgh. He is upon a design to write an account of the
“ first settlement of Christianity in Scotland, as Mr Ruddiman
“ informs me, and pretends to show that Scotland was Chris-
“ tianized at first from Rome, and thinks to answer our ordinary
“ arguments against this from the difference between the keeping
“ of Easter from the custom of Rome ; and pretends to prove that
“ there were many variations as to the day of Easter, even at
“ Rome ; and that the usages in Scotland, pretended to be from
“ the Greek Church, are very agreeable to the Romish customs,
“ and, he thinks, were used by the Popes about the time which
“ he gives account of our difference as to Easter.

“ This Father Innes, in a conversation with my informer, my
“ Lord Grange, made an observation which, I fear, is too true.
“ In conversation with the company, who were all Protestants, he
“ said he did not know what to make of those who had separated
“ from the Catholic Church : as far as he could observe generally,
“ they were leaving the foundations of Christianity, and scarce
“ deserved the name of Christians. He heard that there were
“ departures and great looseness in Holland ; that, as he came
“ through England, he found most of the bishops there gone off
“ from their Articles, and gone into Dr. Clarke's Scheme ; that
“ the Dissenters were, many of them, falling much in with the
“ same methods and coming near them ; and that he was glad to
“ find his countrymen in Scotland not tainted in the great doctrine
“ of the Trinity and sound. Some in the company said, it seems
“ he had not heard of what was thrown up here as to Mr Simson.
“ He said he knew it, but the ministers were taking him to task
“ and mauling him for his departure from the Faith.”

As has been said, the duration of his sojourn in Britain on this occasion has not been ascertained. Either now or at other times he must have made a stay of considerable length. His Essay, his History, and his manuscript collections, shew that he had carefully examined the chief public and private repositories of books and manuscripts connected with his subject, both in England and in Scotland. In his letter to "The King," transmitting the newly published volumes of his Critical Essay, he speaks of having spent many years in the search and examination into all he could hear of within Great Britain of the remains of what related to the History and Antiquities of Scotland.⁽¹⁾ It would evidently, however, be incorrect to suppose that he had spent many years within Britain in this search. Most of his authorities were to be found in the continental Libraries, then untouched by the spoiler; indeed, he drew from thence important materials, which no library in our island could have supplied him with, and he might have obtained copies of documents in this country, which his visit in 1724 enabled him to verify more accurately. The words used by him in the extract from Wodrow, in reference to the heretical opinions entertained by many of the bishops in England, imply that he had not been long in that kingdom previous to his coming to Scotland. While in his native country at this time, he appears to have gone northward as far as Aberdeen. This, at least, is the most natural meaning to be attached to his own words. In his sketch of the life of Boece, he speaks of "much search at Aberdeen,"⁽²⁾ as to how long that writer survived the publication of his History. In his Dissertation on the Use of Sarum, he mentions that he had seen the St. Andrews Missal, belonging to Lord Ar-

⁽¹⁾ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 353.

⁽²⁾ Critical Essay, p. 216.

buthnot.⁽¹⁾ The missal might, no doubt, have been sent to him at Edinburgh, as the Chartularies of St. Andrews and Brechin, and other valuable works in the possession of the Earl of Panmure, appear to have been.⁽²⁾ That he went farther north than Edinburgh is certain, as he refers to an ancient breviary and missal which he had seen at Drummond Castle.⁽³⁾ He had, at all events, returned to Paris before December, 1727, at which time he was appointed Vice-Principal of the Scots College; but he must have been again at London while his Essay was in the course of being printed, as he refers, in the second paragraph of his letter above mentioned, to the danger to which he would personally have been exposed at that time had the object of his work been fully explained.⁽⁴⁾ The Essay was published at London in 1729, and, in the course of that year, he was once more in France.

The letter to the Chevalier is dated Paris, 17th October, 1729. His Letter on the Ancient Form of holding Synods in Scotland, addressed to Dr. Wilkins, and prefixed to the first volume of the *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, is dated at Paris, the 23d November, 1735. Thomas Innes died at the Scots College, on the 28th of January, 1744, in the eighty-second year of his age.

Such are the scanty memorials which I have been able to collect in regard to the life of this learned man. The service done by him to the historical literature of his country by the publication of the Critical Essay is well known, but his labours, and the benefits we owe to them, are by no means to be measured by that work,

(1) Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 365.

(2) Critical Essay, p. 585.

(3) Ibid. p. 565.

(4) Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 258.

and those already referred to by name. Next to his religious and professional duties, he devoted himself to researches in Scottish history and antiquities, and the results of his inquiries were always freely available to every one who requested his assistance.

Many proofs remain of the extent and accuracy of his researches, and of his readiness to make them useful to others. Five closely written volumes, mostly in his own hand, of his manuscript collections in Scottish history still exist, and are now in the possession of Mr. Laing, Keeper of the Signet Library, Edinburgh. A thick quarto volume of collections and dissertations is at Preshome, under the charge of the Right Reverend Bishop Kyle. The papers printed in the second volume of the Miscellany of our Club have already been repeatedly referred to. Mention is there made of Innes having "been in habits of communication with " more than one of the few cultivators of Scottish antiquities in " his time."⁽¹⁾ His Letter to Professor John Ker, of King's College, Aberdeen, is particularly noticed. Besides the Letter on the Ancient Form of holding Synods in Scotland, he supplied Dr. Wilkins with the canons of the later Scottish Councils. The assistance which he gave to Bishop Keith in his History, and in his Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, is less known. In the former work, the Bishop, while acknowledging his obligations to the Author of the Critical Essay, takes the opportunity of mentioning the good service which he and his elder brother had done in arranging the papers of the Scots College.⁽²⁾ In reference to the Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, which was not published till eleven years after

⁽¹⁾ Preface, p. cxx.

⁽²⁾ History, folio edit. p. 151; Spottiswoode Society edit. vol. i. pp. 323, 324.

the death of Innes, the editor of the Chartulary of the Church of Glasgow was the first, so far as I am aware, to point out how much Keith was indebted to his learned countryman.⁽¹⁾

There is yet another work, not hitherto alluded to, which has been attributed by some to Thomas Innes—the *Life of King James II.*, published from the Stuart MSS. by Mr. Stanier Clarke, in 1816. There is little external evidence to assist an inquiry into the correctness of this opinion. But such evidence as there is, points to Lewis Innes rather than to his brother as the compiler of these Memoirs. It is certain that the original Memoirs, written by King James himself, from which the *Life* is compiled, were deposited in the Scots College under the special charge of Lewis Innes.⁽²⁾ This would also account for what has been remarked in regard to the internal evidence of the work itself—that the language appears to connect it with a Scotsman. On this subject more need not be added here. Reference may be made to the remarks upon it in Lord Holland's Preface to Fox's *History of James II.*, in Mr. Clarke's Preface to the Memoirs, and in the *Life of Thomas Innes* in Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary*.

What has been said, imperfect as it is, will, perhaps shew the chief features by which the character of Thomas Innes was distinguished. Sufficient evidence of his worth is to be found in the reputation of those with whom he associated, and in the manner in which he is spoken of by all who knew him. His intimacy with some of the most pious divines of the Gallican Church has already been alluded to. But, beyond the bounds of his own communion, he was esteemed by all who were acquainted with him.

(1) *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Preface, pp. vii, viii.

(2) *Life of James II.*, Preface, pp. xx, xxi.

The accomplished Atterbury, and the learned and modest Ruddiman, appear to have been equally attracted towards him. Even Wodrow—although it is not clear whether he had ever conversed with him—influenced, probably, by the one point of sympathy between them, seems to have had a sort of liking for the “monkish bookish person,” whom he saw pursuing his antiquarian researches at Edinburgh. He was on terms of intimacy with Bishop Archibald Campbell, and Bishop Keith speaks of him as “his worthy and learned friend.”

Before proceeding to consider more particularly the literary character of Thomas Innes, in connection with his Critical Essay and the History now printed, a brief account may be given of the other members of his family, and of its subsequent fortunes:—

James Innes, of Drumgask, had six sons—Lewis, Thomas, Charles (his successor in Drumgask), Walter, Francis, and John, and one daughter, Elizabeth.

The eldest son, Lewis, was born at Walkerdals, in the Enzie, in 1651. He studied at Paris, and, on the death of Principal Robert Barclay, in February, 1682, was appointed Principal of the Scots College there. The institution, which afterwards received the name of the Scots College of Paris, originated in an endowment given by David, Bishop of Murray, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Archbishop James Beaton of Glasgow, was a great benefactor to it, and was looked upon as its second founder. He appointed the Convent of the Carthusians in Paris to be the overseers of his foundation,⁽¹⁾ and, as already mentioned, had deposited the records of the Church of Glasgow, along with

⁽¹⁾ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 369.

his own papers, partly in the College, partly in the Chartreuse. Along with his brother Thomas, Lewis Innes devoted himself to the preservation and arrangement of those records. He took a conspicuous part in the proceedings connected with the vindication of the authenticity of the famous charter which established the legitimacy of King Robert the Third. The Principal carried this charter to St. Germain, where it was shown to King James and the nobility and gentry of his Court. He afterwards submitted it to an examination by the most famous antiquaries of France, including Renaudot, Baluze, Mabillon, and Ruinart, in the presence of several of the Scottish nobility and gentry, at a solemn assembly held in the Abbey of S. Germain-des-Pres, on the 26th of May, 1694.⁽¹⁾

Lewis Innes is said to have been one of five who acted as a Cabinet Council to James II., at St. Germain, on his return from Ireland in 1690.⁽²⁾ On the 11th November, 1701, he was admitted Almoner to the Queen-Mother, Mary of Este, an office which he had previously held while she was Queen Consort. On 23d December, 1713, he was admitted Almoner to her son, the Chevalier de St. George, and, on 17th March, 1714, a warrant was issued for appointing him Lord Almoner.⁽³⁾ In 1713, he resigned the office of Principal of the Scots College. His resignation was

⁽¹⁾ See Letter of Thomas Innes to the University of Glasgow, Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 370; Ruddiman's Preface to the *Diplomata Scotie*, p. 37; and the attestation of the Charter, pp. 27-30, as printed at Paris in 1695. The date of 12th January, given as that of the Assembly in the letter, is a mistake into which Innes probably fell from that being the date of the Charter itself, and his thus confusing the two while writing.

⁽²⁾ *Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 411.

⁽³⁾ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 376, 377. *Life of James II.*, Preface, p. xx.

caused by his being constantly occupied with the political affairs of the exiled house. He appears to have acted as a sort of confidential secretary. Repeated allusions to him are to be found scattered through the printed volume of the Stuart Papers. In the beginning of 1718 he was set aside from his office. It is not easy to ascertain the exact nature of the transactions which led to this, but the following circumstances may be mentioned:—When the Convocation of Canterbury was prorogued by George the First, whose ministers were alarmed by the proceedings of the lower house—a prorogation which resulted in the Convocations of both provinces not being allowed to meet again for the despatch of business—the well-known Charles Leslie wrote to the Chevalier that the members of the English Church were disgusted with the tyrannical exercise of the prerogative of the Crown, and that the adherents of James were afraid that, in the event of a Restoration, similar dangers might be apprehended. He, therefore, advised the Chevalier to address a letter ostensibly to himself, but intended really for the English clergy in general, promising ample security to the Church of England. James acted on this advice, and Lewis Innes having made a translation of the letter into French, was accused of putting a false interpretation on certain parts which might materially injure his master in England. For this, and some other reasons, not exactly known, he was discharged from acting in the Chevalier's employment.⁽¹⁾ The precise time during which he remained unemployed does not exactly appear, but within a few years, he was again in confidential communication with his master. He seems to have been one of those

⁽¹⁾ See Stuart Papers, vol. i. pp. 24, 25, 37.

most trusted in the important business of securing Bishop Atterbury's papers, which, on that prelate's decease, were taken possession of and deposited in the Scots College.⁽¹⁾

Lewis Innes appears to have materially assisted in defraying the expenses attending the composition and publication of the *Critical Essay*.⁽²⁾ He died at Paris on the 23d of January, 1738. In answer to a letter from his brother Thomas, communicating the intelligence of his decease, the Chevalier expressed his concern that he had lost a most faithful servant, who possessed a capacity and zeal for his service not always to be found in the same person. Thirty-seven years before, similar testimony had been borne by the Chevalier's father to the zeal, discretion, and affection of Lewis Innes.⁽³⁾

Walter, the fourth son of James Innes, of Drumgask, studied at the Scots College at Rome. He resided for sometime in France, and returned to Scotland as a missionary priest in 1688. He was imprisoned in 1690 for exercising his duties as a missionary, but being liberated in April, 1691, went to France in the end of the same year, and from thence to Rome, to assist William Lesly, the mission-agent. In May, 1700, he again came to Scotland as a missionary. In 1703, or 1704, he publicly officiated in the hall of his brother's house at Drumgask, wherein, it is mentioned, an altar was placed,⁽⁴⁾ and, in 1715, it is known that he continued to be stationed on Deeside, in the neighbourhood of the family property.

⁽¹⁾ See Preface to the *Stuart Papers*, *passim*.

⁽²⁾ See Thomas Innes's Letter to "The King," *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 356.

⁽³⁾ *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 379. *Life of James II.*, Preface, pp. xx, xxi.

⁽⁴⁾ *Blackhall's Brief History*, Appendix to Preface, p. xxxv.

In June, 1722, he left Scotland and went to France. He died on the 15th of August in the same year, at his benefice in that country.

Francis, the fifth son, was married to Jean Maitland, and had issue, James, Lewis, Charles, Robert (afterwards a Jesuit priest), and Elizabeth. He was Baillie of Aboyne in 1690.⁽¹⁾

John, the sixth son, was born on the 31st July, 1668. He entered the novitiate as a Jesuit, at Watten, in October, 1688, and two years afterwards completed his vows at Vienna. He studied philosophy at Gratz, and theology at Vienna. He was occasionally known by the name of Robison, assumed probably from that of his mother's family. He officiated occasionally at Glen-garden,⁽²⁾ and was afterwards a missionary in Russia for eleven years. He returned to Scotland in 1718, and served as a missionary in Galloway, where he died 6th May, 1757.⁽³⁾

Charles, the third son of James Innes, who succeeded to Drumgask on his father's decease, was born in 1663. He was married to Claudia Irvine, and had three sons, Lewis, James his successor, and George, and four daughters, Jane, Elizabeth, Henrietta, and Claudia.⁽⁴⁾ In consequence of his brother Lewis's, and his own services to the house of Stuart, he had an annual pension of two hundred pounds from the Court of St. Germain's.⁽⁵⁾ He died on the 21st November, 1746, aged eighty-three.

⁽¹⁾ List of Pollable Persons within the Shire of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 66.

⁽²⁾ Blackhall's Brieffe Narration, p. xxxi.

⁽³⁾ Oliver's Collections on the Scotch, English, and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus, p. 24.

⁽⁴⁾ Blackhall's Brieffe Narration, p. xxxv.

⁽⁵⁾ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 376, 377.

Lewis, eldest son of Charles Innes of Drumgask, predeceased his father, dying on the 26th May, 1729.

George, the third son, studied at Paris, in the College of Navarre. He came to the Scottish mission in October, 1712, and, in 1713, was appointed President of Scalán College, in Glenlivet. In November, 1727, he returned to Paris, and became Prefect of Studies in the Scots College. On the 10th of October, 1738, he succeeded Principal Whitford as Head of the College, and died there on the 29th April, 1752.⁽¹⁾

James, second son of Charles Innes, succeeded his father in Drumgask. He married Catherine, daughter of George Gordon of Glastirum, and niece of Bishop Gordon, V.A., and acquired the estate of Balnacraig. He had four sons, Lewis his successor, Charles, Alexander, and Henry, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Jane. He died on the 11th February, 1786.

Charles, second son of James Innes, of Balnacraig and Drumgask was a merchant in Riga. He purchased the estate of Ballogie, and, dying unmarried, left it to his elder brother Lewis.

Alexander, the third son, was a priest, and a member of the Scots College at Paris. His name appears prominently in the rather obscure accounts which remain relative to the records in the Scots College at the time of the first French Revolution.⁽²⁾ The College had its full share in the calamities of that dreadful time. George Innes had been succeeded as Principal by John

⁽¹⁾ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Preface, p. xiii; and *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 379.

⁽²⁾ See on this point Lord Holland's Preface to Fox's *History of King James II.*; Mr. Stanier Clarke's Preface to the *Life of James II.*; the Preface to the *Charitulary of the Church of Glasgow*; and an article on the *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, *Quarterly Review*, No. cxliv.

Gordon, and probably on the decease of the latter in 1777, Alexander Gordon became Principal.⁽¹⁾ In September, 1792, the Principal escaped from Paris after refusing to take the new republican oath, and came to Scotland. The other members of the College also fled, and Alexander Innes alone remained. He was imprisoned, and was only saved in consequence of the death of Robespierre taking place on the day appointed for his execution.⁽²⁾ Alexander Innes appears to have continued at Paris. He was there at all events in 1798 and 1802. He had succeeded as Principal of the College, or at least discharged the duties of that office, and died on the 14th September, 1803.⁽³⁾

Henry, the fourth son of James Innes, was also a member of the Scots College at Paris, and Procurator and Prefect of Studies. Two letters from Prince Charles Edward to Henry Innes are printed in the second volume of the Miscellany of the Club. After leaving France he was for some time chaplain to an English family in Devonshire. He came to Scotland about the year 1800, and officiated as clergyman at Balnacraig till his death on the 11th November, 1833, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

Lewis, the eldest son of James Innes, succeeded his father in Balnacraig, and, as already mentioned, acquired Ballogie from his brother Charles. He was married to a daughter of Provost Young of Aberdeen, and had one son, William, and a daughter, Mary. William was educated at the Scots College of Douay, was a priest,

⁽¹⁾ Compare *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Preface, p. iii, and p. viii, *Analecta Scotica*, vol. i. pp. 10-13, and *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 379.

⁽²⁾ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Preface, p. viii. Preface to Fox's *History of James II.*, p. xxii.

⁽³⁾ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Preface, p. viii. Preface to Fox's *James II.*, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

and officiated for some time at Drummond Castle, afterwards at Carlogie, on the family property. He died in January, 1836. Mary was a nun at Paris, of the order of the Poor Clares. Lewis Innes of Balnacraig and Ballogie died on the 27th day of November, 1815, leaving his estates to Lewis Farquharson, a son of the house of Inverey.

The preceding brief record of this family of priests may not be altogether uninteresting. For the greater part of the information on which it is founded, I am indebted to the kindness of the Reverend George A. Griffin, formerly of S. Mary's College, Blairs, now of New Abbey.

The College with which the Innes family were so intimately connected was never restored to the condition in which it was before the French Revolution. A considerable part of the property was lost altogether; the Roman Catholic bishops in Scotland succeeded in preserving the rest. The institution itself no longer exists; but the manor near Paris, the original endowment of the Bishop of Murray, still remains with the Scottish mission—a link connecting the present day with the age of Bruce.

Thomas Innes has hitherto been chiefly known by his Critical Essay, and on that work his fame will no doubt mainly continue to rest. Its merits have long been universally admitted. It has been well remarked, with particular reference to Pinkerton and Chalmers, that “authors who agree in nothing else have united to build “on the foundations which Innes laid, and to extol his learning and “accuracy, his candour and sagacity.”⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ See Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. Preface, p. cxv, and passages cited from the Enquiry and Caledonia.

It is needless to say more on this point; but it is proper to make some remarks regarding the History now printed for the first time. The Preface to the Essay made its readers aware that that work was only to serve as an introduction to another on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. After mentioning that he had laid aside for some time the first rude draft of the Essay, Innes adds,—“ But being afterwards prevailed upon to search into, and
“ to endeavour to give some account of the beginning and progress
“ of the doctrine and discipline of the Christian Church in our
“ northern parts of the island, and it appearing impossible to give
“ any distinct account of the religious history of any country without that the civil state of it and that of its inhabitants were first
“ well understood; for these reasons, and being otherwise satisfied
“ that nothing solid or lasting could be built upon the schemes of
“ our civil history and antiquities such as our own modern writers,
“ especially Boece and Buchanan, had left, I found myself obliged
“ to resume the rude draft I had formerly made of this Essay, as
“ the only sure foundation on which I could venture any distinct
“ or lasting account of the religious part of our history. Wherefore, having made a new examination of all contained in it, after
“ retrenching what seemed superfluous, and adding new observations, I reduced the whole into the method and order in which
“ it now appears. And being thus reduced into a continued series
“ and distinct order, I could not refuse to show it to some few
“ honourable persons versed in the history of our own and of other
“ countries, and on whose judgment I might depend and confide
“ in. I found them, after they had read and considered it, of
“ opinion that the facts asserted in it were supported with such
“ proofs, and the whole written with such regard to the true honour

“ of our country, that it could not fail to be acceptable to the
“ learned among our countrymen who loved truth and the real
“ honour of Scotland, and therefore they insisted that it ought to
“ be published by itself without waiting for the ecclesiastical part,
“ which was scarce begun, and which might be obstructed by the
“ advanced age of the author, and twenty other accidents, from ever
“ being continued on or perfected.” ⁽¹⁾

With these passages may be compared what he himself had communicated to Ruddiman on the subject of this work, as already quoted in the extract from Wodrow's *Analecta*.

For many years it was not known in Scotland what had become of this Ecclesiastical History, or second part of the Critical Essay. Pinkerton, while remarking that “ it may be easily seen to what
“ side he would incline,” adds, “ there is great room to regret that
“ he did not publish this second part.” ⁽²⁾ George Chalmers was more fortunate in this respect than his antiquarian rival. He had the History in his possession, and freely availed himself of it, as will be afterwards particularly mentioned. The references to it in the Caledonia naturally led to the wish that the whole work might be published. Such wishes have repeatedly been expressed. A transcript of the History had been purchased at the sale of George Chalmers's MSS., and deposited in the Advocates' Library ; and for a considerable time back it had been in contemplation by the Council of our Club to print a work recommended by the high merits of its author, and by his relation to the district of Scotland with which we are more immediately connected.

⁽¹⁾ Critical Essay, Preface, pp. vii, viii. See also Preface, p. xxi, and Essay, pp. 1, 728, 760, and *passim*.

⁽²⁾ Enquiry, edit. 1814, Introduction, p. lxiv.

The first point to be ascertained was in regard to the existing manuscripts of the History. It was known that a part of the History was in possession of the Right Reverend Bishop Kyle at Preshome. The Bishop, with his wonted liberality, to which, on former occasions, this and other literary clubs have been highly indebted, at once gave us the use of this manuscript, and consented that it should be printed.

The Preshome MS. is a folio of two hundred and thirty-eight pages, exclusive of a chronological index containing nine pages, and a preface of two pages. It is very distinctly and accurately written. The text is corrected, and the whole notes, references, and dates are filled in by the author with his own hand. It is evidently a complete transcript of this part of the work prepared for the press under the superintendence of Innes himself; and it contains, besides the chronological table and author's preface, the first two books of the History exactly as now printed from it, and ends with the death of S. Columba in 597.

The following particulars are all which I have been able to learn in regard to the history of this transcript. When Abbé Paul M'Pherson, afterwards Rector of the Scots College at Rome, passed through Paris in 1798, he received from Alexander Innes, the grand nephew of Thomas Innes (who, as already mentioned, remained at Paris after the other members of the College had retired), several books and papers which were still in his possession. Among these were the transcript forming the first MS. volume of the History, five volumes of the author's manuscript collections, and the volume of the extracts and dissertations already referred to, and now at Preshome. Abbé M'Pherson carried these to England, and, while in London, lent them to George Chalmers.

He afterwards presented to Chalmers the volumes of the collections which he considered to be his own property, and which now belong to Mr. Laing. It would also seem that the Abbé or Alexander Innes either presented to Chalmers the other MSS. of Thomas Innes, or at least that Chalmers thought this was the case, and that he had consequently a right to retain them. But the bishops of the Scottish mission reclaimed these MSS., and got back the first volume of the History, and the volume of extracts and dissertations. While the MSS. were in his possession, Chalmers got a transcript made of the first volume of the History, and this was afterwards purchased for the Advocates' Library. Besides this copy there had also been acquired for the Advocates' Library a transcript executed under the superintendence of Chalmers of a continuation of the History. This transcript is a folio of one hundred and ninety-one pages, and contains the history of Scotland from the accession of Garnard son of Wid King of the Picts, in 636, to the accession of Hungus son of Urgust, in 821. There is thus a blank of forty years between the end of the first volume and the commencement of the continuation. This transcript is frequently very erroneous; the proper names and Latin words are particularly inaccurate. It has no chronological table prefixed to it, it is not divided into books or chapters, and the authorities are not quoted in the same careful manner as in the first volume. There is a pencil note to the following effect on a blank leaf of the MS., which is thought to be in Chalmers's own handwriting:—"History of North Britain or Scotland, Ecclesiastical " and Civil. By Thomas Innes, M.A. of the Scots College at " Paris. Transcribed from the original MS. in Thomas Innes's " own writing. This appears to have been the first draught of the

“ second volume of his Ecclesiastical and Civil History of Scotland “ which he did not live to perfect for the press.” The continuation of the History contained in the second volume is quoted by Chalmers in his Caledonia. The quotations made from it are referred to only by the year in which the event took place, while those from the former volume are distinguished by the sections into which that part of the work is divided.⁽¹⁾

I made enquiries for the purpose of ascertaining what had become of the MS. from which Chalmers had made this transcript of the second volume, and for some time without success. But on examining the volumes of the collections now belonging to Mr. Laing, with the use of which the Club had been favoured, I found what is no doubt the original draft of the continuation, and that from which Chalmers's copy was taken. The second of these volumes contains a narrative marked H., commencing abruptly as in the History now printed, and as in Chalmers's transcript, with the words :—“ All this considered.” This narrative forms the basis both of the transcript and of the present text, but omissions are supplied and mistakes corrected from another narrative or rather series of memoranda in the same volume marked G. The narratives G. and H. contain mutual references, and generally mention where the one is to be read in connection with the other. The two narratives are both in Innes's own handwriting. That marked G. contains seventy-three quarto pages, and H. one hundred and six pages of the same size. They are not arranged under chapters or divisions of any kind ; it is frequently difficult to discover what authorities are referred to ; and where quotations

⁽¹⁾ Compare references in Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 315, 320, 322, 323, with those at pp. 325, 327.

are incorporated into the text, it is repeatedly done, not by giving them at length, as in the first volume, but by a simple direction with reference to the original.

These chronological memoirs begin, as already mentioned, forty years after the death of Columba, with which the first volume concludes, and end with the commencement of the ninth century. There must, no doubt, have been a similar narrative of the events of these forty years, but I have been unable to discover it. It was evidently not in Chalmers's possession, otherwise it would have appeared in his transcript. From a note at the beginning of H. the lost portion appears to have been marked C. It is not likely that the continuation of the History was ever brought by Innes into a more perfect form than that in which we now have it.

A few words may be added regarding the plan which has been adopted in editing the History.

The text of the first two books, with the author's chronological index, and preface, is printed as in the original transcript. Obvious clerical errors have been corrected, but the words of the author otherwise have been retained. The spelling has occasionally been slightly altered. The author's notes and references are given as in the original, except in a few cases where the mere form of quoting is simplified for the sake of convenience. I regret that in many cases it was out of my power to verify the references. But it is to be hoped that there are, notwithstanding, few errors in this respect, so far as the first two books are concerned. These references are filled in with Innes's own hand, and all who have any knowledge of his writings are aware how accurate he generally is.

In regard to the remaining portion of the History my task was not so simple. The incomplete state of the MS., and the manner

in which the two parts of it are put together made it frequently a matter of some difficulty to ascertain the reading, and to fill in the references, and Chalmers's transcript afforded little assistance in this respect. But it was thought desirable to preserve what Innes had written, although in an imperfect form, even at the risk of occasional mistakes being made; and Mr. Laing having most readily given his permission, a transcript of the chronological memoirs, derived from the two sources formerly mentioned, was carefully prepared for the Club by Mr. Francis Shaw. From this transcript the continuation has now been printed. The passages therein which are quoted at length from Bede, are taken from Dr. Giles's translation.

The very few notes which I have made in any part of the History are distinguished from those of the author by numbers instead of letters, and by being enclosed within brackets.

Referring to his Critical Essay in the Preface to that work, ⁽¹⁾ Innes remarks :—"From these and such other reasons, I was at last persuaded to let it appear rather from my own hand than from that of any other, being unwilling to have the many faults or mistakes of my own, that I doubt not will be found in it, augmented by those which an editor not so well accustomed to the style or matter, besides errors or mistakes in the copy, might add to it." What the author thus avoided in regard to the Essay, it is to be feared may now have taken place in printing the History. But whatever errors may have been committed, the work itself will be no unimportant addition to the ecclesiastical literature of our country. It is written in the same simple and

⁽¹⁾ Critical Essay, Preface, pp. viii, ix.

perspicuous style which distinguishes the Critical Essay, its greatest defect being the occurrence of frequent Gallicisms, a circumstance which the personal history of the author sufficiently explains.

The narrative is founded on a careful examination of the best existing authorities. No such examination had been made by previous writers on the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. These writers were generally ignorant of the real sources of authentic history, and made no proper use of what they did know. Innes, at once admitting that his materials were scanty, and that he was frequently obliged to use doubtful authorities to some extent, made the most careful enquiries as to the best sources of information, and when he found them, made the best use of them. Where he was obliged to rely on doubtful guides or probable conjecture, he warns his readers that such is the case. The earlier part of his work is derived from the authentic accounts of the Latin and Greek historians of the Empire. As he advances, and before he enters on the full current of the History of Venerable Bede, the narrative is derived from a great variety of sources,—chiefly from the ancient Lives of the Saints. In using these last he avails himself of the critical aids in the way of a just appreciation of their authority, which he found in the works of the great school of ecclesiastical history in France, with some of whose brightest ornaments he was personally familiar. From the time of S. Columba till nearly the close of his narrative, he possesses the invaluable guidance of Bede.

Something may now be said as to the spirit in which Innes's work is written. So far as the proper narrative is concerned, it will be difficult to find a fault. In his reasonings and disquisitions—of which, perhaps, there is more than enough—the Roman

ecclesiastic is easily discerned ; but he does not seek to keep this character in the background. While he writes as an avowed adherent of the Roman see, his usual moderation never forsakes him. He has no favour for the temporal authority of the Pope over Christ iankings, or even for his unlimited power in spiritual matters. He is much more zealous for the doctrines and discipline of the Church, than for the prerogatives of the see of Rome.

The following opinion is given as to the design of the History, by a writer qualified beyond most others to speak with authority on the subject :—" As in his Essay he had laboured to establish " the high monarchical principle, it was his object in the Eccle- " siastical History to support chiefly two doctrines—the consec- " tive ordination of bishops, from the apostolic times to his own " day, in the Church of Scotland, and the necessity of the epis- " copal order in all Churches ; and, secondly, that Christianity " came to Scotland through Rome."⁽¹⁾ There can be little doubt that one main inducement to write the work was to vindicate the Church to which he belonged from the attacks of those who supported what he calls the new Reformation. No one has any right to quarrel with him for so doing. He simply discharged what to him was a plain duty. If it can be made out that he sacrificed historical truth for this or any other purpose, he will deserve the severest censure.

This appears to be the proper place for noticing the most serious imputation to which the moral and literary character of Innes is liable.

In his Letter ⁽²⁾ to the Chevalier, Innes makes some re-

⁽¹⁾ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, Preface, p. vii.

⁽²⁾ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 353—356.

marks on the nature and design of the Critical Essay. Referring to the book itself for his general motives in writing it, so far as he had thought it proper to render them public, he explains that he had also another motive which he could not divulge with safety. This was to expose the seditious principles founded on the fabulous history of the forty kings, to which the writings of Buchanan had given such influence, and which had such effect during the civil wars of Queen Mary's reign, and those in the time of Charles the First, and had been used to justify the proceedings of the Scottish Convention in deposing their Sovereign in 1689. He states that to carry out his object in exposing those opinions he had been obliged "to bring it in as a necessary part of his subject, under the pretence of enquiring into the true era of the Scottish monarchy."

It may well be doubted how far any one is entitled to keep his real motives in the background to the extent here implied. But though it may appear absurd to question the author's evidence against himself, yet I cannot help thinking that in this letter Innes attributes much more weight to the political reasons for writing his Essay than they really had. An impartial examination of the Essay itself and of his other writings will show that the ostensible object of the work must have been to a great extent the real one, and that his letter to James must admit of some of the qualifications which are frequently allowed in similar cases. At all events the letter shows that no conscious mis-statement was made to support his opinions. He not only believed all that he wrote, but farther, mentioned little except what could be verified by the best evidence. I cannot conclude these remarks better than in the language of the writer already quoted:⁽¹⁾—"It is now

⁽¹⁾ Preface to the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, p. vii.

“ well known that Father Innes’s chief object in that work was, “ as he describes it himself, to counteract the inventions of former “ historians, and ‘ to go to the bottom of the dark contrivances of “ factious men against the sovereignty of our kings.’ But in “ spite of the strong party feeling which was paramount in his “ mind, he was of so temperate a nature and so honest withal, “ that no quotations or statements of fact, scarcely an argument “ or conclusion in his work has ever been challenged.”

Could we suppose that Innes had been actuated by dishonest motives in writing his Essay, the temptation to sacrifice truth to his own political or ecclesiastical opinions would certainly have been yet stronger in the History.

In estimating what Innes has accomplished, we must keep in mind that he was not permitted to advance far beyond the very threshold of his plan. What he has left is only a fragment of the work which he projected. It may be allowable to express a feeling of regret that he did not live to complete it. He stops towards the commencement of the ninth century. Other three centuries and a half of darkness and barbarism, and he would have reached the great Reformation of the Scottish Church by King David. He would then have had the guidance of the chartularies which he had studied so carefully, and which he was among the first to understand and appreciate, and he would have given us a true and authentic account of the ecclesiastical system that prevailed during five centuries, whose history still remains almost entirely unknown to the great majority of his countrymen.

The Letter on the ancient manner of holding Synods in Scotland has been reprinted from the first volume of Wilkins’ Concilia, and is appended to this Preface. This Letter, along with

the Critical Essay, the History, and the papers in the Miscellany of the Club form a collection of the most valuable of Innes's writings.

G E O R G E G R U B.

ABERDEEN, 18th October, 1853.

APPENDIX TO THE PREFACE.

CLARISSIMI AC REVERENDI VIRI,

THOMÆ INNESII,

SCOTO-BRITANNI,

EPISTOLA AD EDITOREM CONCILIORUM M. BRITANNIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ DE VETERI
APUD SCOTOS HABENDI SYNODOS MODO.

Ut de veteri apud Scotos tenendi synodos modo ex pauculis illis, quae ex Knoxiana strage evaserunt, monumentorum ecclesiasticorum reliquiis distinctius aliquid disseri possit; notandum imprimis, non unum eundemque in synodis tenendis in Scotiâ modum fuisse servatum, sed varium pro vario ecclesiae Scoticae per secula diversa statu. Visum est ergo, ad majorem hujus materiae perspicuitatem, res ecclesiasticas Scotiae in quasdam periodos, et quasi aetates distribuere.

AETAS PRIMA.

Ad primam aetatem reduci potest omne illud tempus, quod effluxit ab ortu evangelicae lucis in iis Britanniae partibus, quae Scotiae regno continentur; hoc est, ab initio circiter seculi post Christum natum tertii, sive ab anno Domini CCIII. juxta vulgares Scotiae scriptores, usque ad conjunctionem regnorum, Pictorum scilicet et Scotorum, in unam Scotiae monarchiam, quae anno Domini DCCCXLIII., a Kennetho II. rege effecta est.

In hac prima aetate etsi modo nihil superesse videatur ex actis conciliorum Scotiae, praeter quosdam Adamnani canones contra esum sanguinis et suffocatorum; dubitari tamen vix potest, habita tunc fuisse inter Scotos concilia, praesertim ad componendas acres illas de Paschate, tonsura, et aliis disciplinae capitibus contentiones, quas Beda memorat. Notandum etiam canones Hibernicos, sicut et alia disciplinae illorum temporum capita communia olim plerumque fuisse Scotis in Britannia cum Hibernis. Horum canonum ampla habetur in Spicilegio R. P. Dacherii collectio. Sed parum aut nihil inde lucis ad nostrum de forma conciliorum institutum derivari posse videtur.

AETAS SECUNDA.

Secunda quasi aetas ecclesiae Scoticanae continebat annos 281, a conjunctione regnorum Scotici et Pictici facta sub Kennetho II. rege, anno Domini DCCCXLIII. juxta certiores computationem, ad initium usque regni Davidis I., anno Domini MCXXIV.

Conventus, sive concilia hac aetate apud Scotos habita, speciem potius habent comitiorum illorum, seu conciliorum Gallicanorum, quae tempore Caroli Magni et successorum ejus habita sunt, in quibus edita sunt capitularia, quam conciliorum sive synodorum episcopalium. In iis utique intererant non episcopi modo, sed et procures, una cum ipso rege; et capitula seu statuta edita, non ad ecclesiasticam tantum, sed etiam aliquando ad politiam civilem spectant. Sic etiam in Anglia hisce temporibus, id est seculis nono, decimo, et undecimo, habebantur quandoque concilia, quibus non tantum episcopi, sed et reges, et duces intererant, ut ex eorum subscriptionibus patet. Conventus autem, sive concilia habita his temporibus in Scotia, ejusdem videntur fuisse generis; quippe leges, sive canones ab iis editi, non ad res sacras tantum pertinebant, sed et ad civiles; et in eorum convocatione et sanctionibus regia magis, quam episcopalis eminere videtur auctoritas. Hujus generis septem in Scotia hac aetate habita traduntur concilia, sive conventus, in quibus leges tam ecclesiasticae quam civiles editae sunt.

Primum habitum fuit post conjunctionem regnorum circa A.D. DCCCL. In eo editae sunt celebres illae olim in Scotia leges ecclesiasticae et civiles, dictae Macalpinæ, a rege Kennetho II., Alpini filio, primo totius Scotiae monarcha. Earum praecipua capita referuntur ab Hectore Boethio in his-

toria Scotorum, fol. 200, sed ex traditione vulgari, ut videtur, potius, quam ex auctentico aliquo monumento.

Secundum convocatum est apud Forteviot, regiam olim Scotorum sedem, circa A.D. DCCCLX., regnante Donaldo ejus nominis secundo, Kennethi regis fratre. In hoc consensu sive concilio idem rex leges a rege Ethfno, sive Aetho Albo, filio Ecdachi, superiori seculo conditas, innovavit. Sic enim habet fragmentum veteris chronici Scotorum in appendice ad "Conatum Criticum," N. iii. editum.^(a) "In hujus [Donevaldi fratris Kennethi] tempore jura ac leges regni Edi, filii Ecdach, fecerunt Goedeli [Scoti] cum rege suo in Fothertavaicht." Verum hae leges videntur ad statum potius civilem regni spectasse, quam ad ecclesiasticum.

Tertium concilium apud Forfar habitum est, regnante Gregorio, circa A.D. DCCCLXXVIII. In hoc concilio sive consensu editae sunt leges tam ecclesiasticae quam civiles, quas idem Boethius refert.^(b)

Quartum concilium apud Sconam habitum est circa A.D. DCCCCVI., regnante Constantino, filio Aethi. In hoc concilio juxta fragmentum supra laudatum veteris chronici Scotorum, "Idem^(c) rex, et Kellachius episcopus [S. Andreae] leges, disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum, evangeliorumque pariter cum Scotis in Colle Credulitatis prope regali civitate Sconan devoverunt custodiri."

Quintum concilium apud Bertham, sive Perth celebratum est, regnante Malcolmo II., circa A.D. MXX. Leges in eo editae, tam ecclesiasticae quam civiles habentur apud eundem Boethium.^(d)

Sextum, regnante Macbetho, habitum est, circa A.D. ML. Leges tam sacrae quam civiles in eo concilio editae, habentur insertae in ejusdem Boethii historia.^(e)

Sub rege denique Malcolmo III., circa A.D. MLXXIV., hortatu potissimum S. Margaretae, conjugis ipsius, ad disciplinae et morum reformationem habita sunt aliquot concilia, quorum praecipua capita inserta sunt in auctentica ejusdem reginae vita ab auctore coaevo scripta.^(f)

^(a) Crit. Essay, p. 783.

^(b) Boeth. Hist. fol. 208, 209.

^(c) Crit. Essay, p. 785.

^(d) Boeth. Hist. fol. 245.

^(e) Ibid. fol. 250.

^(f) Acta Sanctor. Bolland. Vita S. Margaretae, reginae Scot. ad diem, 10 Junii, num. 14, 15, 16.

ÆTAS TERTIA.

Tertia ætas constat annis circiter centum, ab initio nimirum regni Davidis I., A.D. MCXXIV., ad A.D. MCCXXV. Honori papæ III., annum decimum, et Alexandri II., regis Scotorum, annum undecimum.

Hactenus, quæ indicavimus, concilia speciem plerumque habent comiti-
orum regni magis, quam synodorum ecclesiasticarum. At quæ hac tertia
ætate et sequentibus duabus habita sunt, erant revera concilia ecclesiastica
proprie dicta; in quibus utique tam in indictione quam in sanciendo decretis
ecclesiastica auctoritas maxime eminebat. Habebant autem concilia Scotica
unius-cujusque sequentium trium ætatum aliquid unicuique ætati peculiare
et specialia inter se differentias tum in auctoritate, qua convocata sive in-
dicta sunt, tum in modo procedendi, et in decretis sanciendo. Hæc autem
omnis variatio in disciplina ecclesiastica, præsertim in Synodis, major apud
Scotos, quam in aliis plerisque Christianis regionibus ex tribus potissimum
causis oriebatur. Et quidem, 1, Ex paucitate episcoporum olim nostrorum;
2, Quod episcopi nulli certæ sedi essent plerumque addicti; 3, Quod
metropolitano proprio carerent.

Quod attinet ad paucitatem episcoporum; etsi in nulla regione sub-
sistere diu possit Christiana religio absque verbi Dei et sacramentorum
ministris legitimis, qui a Christo per apostolos, eorumque successores
episcopos potestatem suam omnem spirituales derivent; fatendum tamen
est, ante S. Ninianum episcopum, cujus Beda meminit, qui primus fidem
Christi Pictis australibus circa seculi quarti finem, aut initium quinti præ-
dicavit, nullius episcopi in Scotia nomen ad nos pervenisse. Post Ninianum
vero Palladius, Patricius, Servanus, Ternanus, Kentegernus, Winninus,
Baldredus, et alii deinceps per singulas ætates episcopale ministerium juxta
scriptores nostros in Scotia exercuisse memorantur. Sed et aliorum pluri-
morum episcoporum inter Pictos et Scotos ^(*) nomina, et dies festi in calen-
dariis nostris antiquis et libris ritualibus passim occurrunt; etsi quo
quisque tempore et loco sederit, aut episcopale munus gesserit, post tot

* Non levibus momentis et auctoritatibus probari posset, habuisse olim tam Pictos
quam Scotos ante regnorum conjunctionem unum saltem pro unoquoque regno episcopum
proprium; atque etiam sedem episcopalem Pictorum fuisse apud Abernethy in Strathernæ,
sedem vero episcopi Scotorum in Iona insula sitam. Quemadmodum et apud Anglo-
Saxones usque ad Theodori Cantuariensis tempora plerique episcopi erant regionarii (unus
nimirum in unoquoque Saxonum regno), potius quam diocesani.

ac tantas monumentorum in Scotia, praesertim ecclesiasticorum clades nihil fere certum statui potest.

Patendum est etiam serius apud Scotos, nec nisi post regnorum Scotici et Pictici in unam monarchiam conjunctionem, canonicam in distinctas dioeceses coepisse fieri regni Scotiae divisionem, et quidem pedetentim tantum et sub diversis regibus.

Prima et institutionis ordine et loci celebritate extitit sedes S. Andreae. Haec erigi coepit ab Hungo, Fergusii sive Urgusti filio, septuagesimo secundo, juxta vetustiores indices, Pictorum rege, occasione translationis quarundam reliquiarum S. Andreae ex oriente ad terram Pictorum in locum, qui Kilrigmund sive Kilreuil olim vocabatur. Eum locum Deo dicavit Pictorum rex Hungus sub invocatione S. Andreae apostoli, et in civitatem crexit, extructa ibidem ecclesia S. Andreae, cum ea praerogativa, ut esset deinceps, "caput et mater omnium ecclesiarum in terra Scotorum."^(a)

Aucta est non parum loci celebritas, cum post aliquot annos, ut referunt scriptores nostri, sedes episcopalis Pictorum sita olim apud Abernethy, primariam Pictorum civitatem, a Kennetho Magno, Alpini filio, devictis Pictis, ad S. Andream translata esset. Hinc factum est, ut quemadmodum Pictorum et Scotorum regna in unam monarchiam sub rege Kennetho conjuncta sunt, et uterque populus paulatim in unum coaluit; ita eandem primariam totius Scotiae episcopatus sedem uterque populus in unum coadunatus agnosceret, et veneraretur.

Secunda sedes episcopalis post regnorum conjunctionem a Malcolmo secundo rege circa annum Domini MX., erecta Murthlaci, unde postea a Davide I. rege Aberdoniam translata, dicta est Aberdonensis. Tertio loco instaurata fuit per eundem regem circa A.D. MCXVII. (dum adhuc erat Cumbriae princeps) regnante fratre Alexandro I., sedes Glasguensis, olim a Sancto Kentegerno fundata. Quarto demum loco sub idem tempus restituta fuit sedes Candidae Casae, a S. Niniano episcopo primitus fundata.

Ad has quatuor sedes episcopales idem piissimus rex, David I., verus ecclesiae Scoticae nutritius, adjecit quinque alias; nimirum Dunkeldensem, Moraviensem, Cathanensem, Brechinensem, et Rossensem. Circa idem tempus Dumblanensis a comite Palatino de Stratherne fundata est. His decem episcopalibus sedibus additae sunt postea diversis temporibus aliae tres; Lismorensis, Orcadensis, ac demum, occupata ab Anglis insula

^a Usser. de Ant. Britan. eccles. p. 343.

Mona, in qua episcopus Insularum seu Sodorensis sedem habebat, ejus loco erecta est in Iona insula sedes Hyensis, quae et Insularum dicta est.

Ex nis tredecim episcopis una cum abbatibus et majoribus prioribus, inter quos praecipuus erat Prior S. Andreae, qui omnes etiam abbates in conciliis praecedebat; adjunctis etiam capitulorum, collegiorum, et conventuum procuratoribus, necnon decanis et archidiaconis, ex his, inquam, omnibus constabant concilia Scoticana.

Inter omnes autem Scotiae episcopos primum, ut diximus, sibi vendicabat, etiam a Pictorum temporibus, et ab ipsa sedis institutione, episcopus S. Andreae, eoque nomine alios Scotiae episcopos de consuetudine observata usque ad Innocentii Papae III., tempora ⁽¹⁾ consecrare solitus erat, aliaque metropolitani munia obire. Verum quia honorem pallii nondum fuerat consecutus a summo pontifice, sicut nec Armachanus, nec alii in Hibernia metropolitani usque ad ⁽²⁾ A.D. MCLI., coeperunt Eboracenses archiepiscopi sub finem seculi undecimi et initio sequentis litem movere episcopo S. Andreae de episcoporum Scotiae ordinationibus, synodis congregandis, et aliis juribus metropoliticiis.

Ut finis imponeretur huic controversiae, quae disciplinae ecclesiasticae in Scotia, et praesertim habendis synodis non parum oberat, magno zelo laboravit idem rex noster David, ejus nominis primus, non minus in defendendis ecclesiae juribus strenuus, quam pietate et sanctitate inter omnes suae aetatis principes illustris. Is igitur statim atque fratri suo Alexandro I., in regnum successit A.D. MCXXV., primo regni sui anno legatum ad Honorium II., ⁽³⁾ summum pontificem, misit Johannem, episcopum Glasguensem, qui jam antea multa passus erat pro libertate et juribus ecclesiae Scoticae; cui rex hoc praecipue in mandatis dedit, ut suo nomine pallium a summo pontifice peteret pro episcopo S. Andreae. Verum obstante totis viribus Thurstino, Eboracensi antistite, viro dilatandis metropoleos suae terminis unice intento, litis decisio in aliud tempus dilata est.

Concessione itaque pallii pro episcopo S. Andreae in tempus indefinitum remissa, factum est, ut defectu proprii archiepiscopi concilia provincialia in Scotia, hac tertia aetate et rariora essent, et, ea quae sunt habita, nequaquam aliarum ecclesiarum more juxta canonicas regulas mandato

⁽¹⁾ Innocent. Papae III. epistola 121, lib. 3. edit. Baluzianae.

⁽²⁾ Chron. Mailros ad A.D. MCLI.—Gul. Neubrigen. praefat. ad Historiam Angliae.

⁽³⁾ V. Dissertationem de libertate eccles. Scot. et ab Ebor. Metrop. immunitate nondum editam.

proprii archiepiscopi convocarentur, nec illius auctoritate, aut ipso praeside, tractarentur negotia et ederentur decreta; sed omnia, aut fere omnia, per legatos pontificios, et ipsorum auctoritate gererentur.

Septem omnino hac tertia aetate habita sunt in Scotia concilia provincialia, quorum index, sive notitia inserta habetur ^(m) "Conatui Critico de antiquis Scotiae incolis," Anglice edito Londini, A.D. MDCCCXXIX. His septem conciliis octavum addi potest, habitum ⁽ⁿ⁾ A.D. MCLXXX., ab Alexio, legato pontificio, de lite inter Hugonem et Johannem de episcopatu S. Andreae contententes.

AETAS QUARTA.

Quarta aetas continet annos 246, ab anno scilicet Domini MCCXXV. Honorii papae III. decimo, et Alexandri II. Scotorum regis undecimo, ad A.D., circiter MCCCCLXX. Jacobi III., Scotorum regis undecimum.

Novus et omnino singularis hac quarta aetate tenendi concilia provincialia modus in Scotiam introductus est. Cum enim ex una parte Eboracenses archiepiscopi regis Angliae praesidio fulti, mordicus perseverarent in sua apud Romanam curiam intercessione, ne pallium, cum ordinationibus episcoporum Scotiae, et aliis metropoliticiis juribus, praesertim synodos tenendi episcopo S. Andreae concederetur; nec minori animi constantia tam reges, quam episcopi Scotiae praedecessorum vestigiis inhaerentes, omnino abnuerent archiepiscopo subesse Eboracensi, aut conciliis mandato ipsius convocatis adesse: cumque ex alia parte frequentiores legatorum ad tenenda concilia in Scotiam introitus sicut superiori aetate contigerat, subditis, et praesertim clero oneri essent, et ob hanc causam regi nostro Alexandro II., non admodum grati (ut patet ex responso regis paulo acriori ^(o) facto Othoni legato volenti in Scotiam intrare A. D. MCCXXXVII.), hinc factum est, ut jam fere omnis spes concilia provincialia tenendi in Scotia sublata videretur; proindeque disciplina ecclesiastica et canonicae regulae, quarum cura et observantia in singulis regionibus ad concilia potissimum spectabant, retro indies viderentur lapsurae. Ut huic tanto malo obviam iret, Honorius papa III., in haec verba ad episcopos Scotiae rescriptum misit A.D. MCCXXV.

^(m) Crit. Essay, pp. 589, 590.

⁽ⁿ⁾ Chron. Mailros, ad A.D. MCLXXX.

^(o) Math. Paris, ad A.D. MCCXXXVII, p. 101.

“Honorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, universis episcopis regni Scotiae, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.^(p) Quidam vestrum nuper auribus nostris intimavit, quod, cum non haberetis archiepiscopum, cujus auctoritate possitis concilium provinciale celebrare, contigit in regno Scotiae, quod est a sede apostolica remotum, statuta negligi concilii generalis, et enormia plurima committi, quae remanent impunita. Cum autem provincialia concilia omitti non debeant, in quibus de corrigendis excessibus, et moribus reformandis diligens est adhibendus cum Dei timore tractatus; ac canonicae sunt relegendae regulae ac conservandae maxime, quae in eodem concilio generali sunt statutae; per apostolica vobis scripta mandamus, quatenus, cum metropolitanum noscamini non habere, auctoritate nostra concilium provinciale celebretis. Datum Tyberii, cal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno nono.”

Hujus auctoritate mandati convenientes episcopi regni Scotiae, de concilio provinciali singulis annis celebrando sic statuerunt, ut ex ^(q) generalibus ecclesiae Sooticanae statutis, et ^(r) aliis documentis antiquis colligitur.

I. Quod annis singulis unus episcopus communi reliquorum consilio conservator eligeretur, qui de concilio ad concilium suo fungeretur officio, praesertim in concilio provinciali quotannis indicendo auctoritate conservatoria per literas ad singulos episcopos; quibus eos requireret, quatenus die et loco praescriptis adessent in habitu decenti, una cum praelatis, id est, abbatibus et majoribus prioribus suae dioecesis; necnon cum capitulorum, collegiorum, et conventuum procuratoribus idoneis, decanis, et archidiaconis, ut per triduum, si necesse fuerit, in eodem concilio valeant pro necessitatibus divinis et ecclesiasticis commorari, et, invocata Sancti Spiritus gratia, statum ecclesiasticum ibidem ad modum debitum et placentem Deo reformare. Si quis vero canonica praepeditione fuerit impeditus, procuratorem vice sua sufficientem substituat; non autem veniens personaliter, cum venire potuerit, auctoritate concilii et arbitrio puniatur.

II. Quod idem conservator pro tempore concilio praesideret, materias tractandas proponeret, suffragia colligeret, cum majori et saniori parte patrum concluderet, et decretum interponeret. Omnibus denique expeditis, et concilii proxime futuri die et loco indictis, solebant omnes episcopi praesentes decretis sive definitionibus concilii sigilla seu chirographa sua apponere.

^(p) Chartular. Vet. Aberdon. fol. 25, b.—Item Chartular. Vet. Moravien. fol. 11, b.

^(q) Chartular. Vet. Aberdon. fol. 39.—Item Chartular. Moravien.

^(r) Chartular. Brechin.

III. Quod idem conservator pro tempore manifestos ac notorios ejusdem concilii seu alicujus statuti in eodem violatores puniret, et ad debitam satisfactionem per censuram ecclesiasticam secundum juris exigentiam efficaciter compelleret.

Denique, quod ad ritum externum ab episcopis nostris observatum in tenendis conciliis auctoritate conservatoria, habetur ille praefixus statutis generalibus ecclesiae Scoticae, sed recentiori scriptura tenoris sequentis.

(¹) *Modus Procedendi in concilio cleri Scottici.*

Primo induantur episcopi albis, amictis, cappis solennibus, mitris, chirothecis, habentes in manibus baculos pastorales; abbates insuper pellicis et cappis; mitrati cum mitris; decani et archidiaconi in superpellicis, almutiis, et cappis: alii vero clerici sint in honesto habitu et decenti. Deinde procedant duo ceroferarii albis et amictis induti cum cereis ardentibus ante diaconum, qui legit evangelium, "Ego sum pastor bonus" etc., quem, comitetur subdiaconus, et petat diaconus benedictionem a conservatore, si praesens fuerit, vel ab antiquiori episcopo, si sit absens conservator. Perlecto Evangelio, osculetur liber a conservatore et singulis episcopis. Deinde incipiat conservator hymnum, "Veni, Creator Spiritus," etc., et ad quemlibet versum incensetur altare ab episcopis. Quo facto, qui habet dicere sermonem,⁽²⁾ accepta benedictione a conservatore, incipiat sermonem ad cornu altaris. Finito sermone, vocentur citati ad concilium, et absentes puniantur secundum statuta. Quibus statutis ibidem perlectis in publico, excommunicent episcopi secundum statuta, habentes singuli in manibus candelas.

Caeterum ex omnibus hisce conciliis hac quarta aetate auctoritate conservatoria convocatis (quorum numerum, cum ⁽³⁾ singulis annis convocari deberent, oportebat fuisse maximum per annos 246) ad meam notitiam pauca tantum hactenus pervenerunt, quorum index habetur in Conatu Critico.^(*) Pleraque reliqua Knoxianis temporibus perierunt, aut hactenus latent.

Ex his autem, quae hac quarta aetate de institutione, officio, et potestate

⁽¹⁾ Chartular. Vet. Aberdon. fol. 24, b.

⁽²⁾ Statut. general. eccles. Scot. can. 2.

⁽³⁾ Ibid. can. 1.

* Crit. Essay, p. 590, et seq.

episcopi conservatoris dicta sunt, manifestum est, quod etsi propter intercessionem regum Angliae, et antistitis Eboracensis apud summum pontificem concessio pallii, et proprii metropolitani (qui per annos plusquam centum a regibus et clero Scotiae flagitabantur) in tempus magis opportunum dilata fuerit; revera tamen jura fere omnia et privilegia metropolitana collata fuerunt episcopo conservatori, et ab eo, durante sua administratione, exercita, praesertim quantum ad concilia provincialia.

Constat etiam aliunde praecipuum illud jus metropolitani, nimirum sententias, sive decreta episcoporum suffraganeorum per appellationem ad eum delata, denuo discutiendi et reformandi episcopo conservatori in reliquos Scotiae episcopos tributum fuisse; ut constat ex decreto trium⁽¹⁾ regni Scotiae statuum in plenis comitiis, A.D. MCCCC. magni Schismatis tempore edito.

AETAS QUINTA.

Quinta quasi aetas ecclesiae Scoticae continet 90 circiter annos; nimirum ab A.D. MCCCCLXX. Jacobi regis III. undecimo, ad A.D. MDLX. Mariae reginae octavum decimum quo catholica in Scotia religio, una cum hierarchico ordine a Calvinianis vi et armis oppressa et eversa est.

Varios hactenus pro rerum et temporum circumstantiis vidimus in Scotica ecclesia habendi synodos modos. Verum hac quinta aetate, erecta tandem in metropolitana ecclesia S. Andreae, res ecclesiasticas in Scotia, praesertim quantum ad synodos, constantiori tenore, et canonicis universalis ecclesiae regulis congruentiori processuras deinceps spes erat.

Quod spectat imprimis ad erectionem sedis S. Andreae in metropolim, sic se res habuit. Defuncto A.D. MCCCCLXVIII., viro nunquam satis laudato, Jacobo Kennedy, episcopo S. Andreae, regis cognato, successus est in ejus locum Patricius Graham, defuncti antistitis ex fratre nepos. Is Romam profectus, opportunitate usus turbarum in Anglia de regni successione, ipso etiam antistite Eboracensi in carcerem ab adversa factione conjecto, haud difficulter impetravit a Sixto IV., summo pontifice, pallium cum dignitate metropolitani, primatis, et legati nati Scotiae pro se et suis successoribus, subjectis aliis duodecim regni episcopis Scotiae in suffraganeos.

⁽¹⁾ Ex actis Originalibus trium regni Scotiae comitiarum, habit. apud Seonam, 21 Februar. A.D. MCCCC.

Hanc subjectionem episcopi quidam aegre tulerunt. Nulli enim hactenus metropolitano, sed ecclesiae tantum Romanae, nullo mediante, juxta tenorem rescriptorum summorum pontificum, subjecti fuerant; et per annos plusquam ducentos assueti munia metropolitani sub titulo conservatoris, ut supra diximus, vicissim exercere. Advertentes igitur, se ab hac honoris praerogativa per erectionem metropolitani in perpetuum excludendos, quidam ex ipsis privatis magis commolis studentes, quam ecclesiae Scotticae honori et utilitatibus, coeperant inter se murmurare, deinde in apertas querimonias erumpere, regis et aulicorum animos contra novum archiepiscopum occupare. His se adjungentes archiepiscopi hostes et aemuli, tot eum criminationibus onerarunt non tantum apud regem, sed apud summum pontificem, ut utrique aulae tam Scotiae, quam Romanae invisum reddiderint. Tandem vero exauctoratus, et in monasterium inclusus, tot calamitatus fractus obiit, A.D. MCCCCLXXVII., vix ullum dignitatis suae aut jurium liberum exercitium nactus; vir plane, ut mihi videtur, meliori sorte dignus.

Patricio archiepiscopo in coadjutorem primo, deinde in successorem datus Willelmus Scheves, vir astutus, ac praecipuus, ut ferunt, Patricii praedecessoris ipsius hostis et insectator, sed in rebus gerendis dexter et impiger. Is, conciliatis sibi animis aulicorum tum in Scotia, tum etiam in Romana curia, Romam profectus, nova ab Innocentio VIII. papa diplomata impetravit, data Romae 6 calend. Aprilis A.D. MCCCCLXXXVII. His metropolitana dignitas denuo sedi S. Andreae confirmata est, una cum pallio et dignitate primatis, et legati nati Scotiae "ad instar ecclesiae Cantuariensis in Anglia," cum iisdem juribus et privilegiis.

A.D. MCCCCLXXXIX., Robertus Blacader, episcopus Glasguensis, Romam profectus cum literis commendatitiis Jacobi IV. regis, et trium regni statuum supplicaturus pro erectione sedis suae Glasguensis in metropolitana "ad instar metropolis Eboracensis in Anglia" cum iisdem juribus et privilegiis, supplicationi annuit Innocentius papa VIII. concessio diplomate pontificio, dato idibus Januarii, A. D. MCCCCXCI. quo ecclesia Glasguensis in metropolitanam erecta est, et antistiti Roberto pallium concessum pro se et successoribus suis, distractis a metropoli S. Andreae, et Glasguensi in suffraganeos subjectis quatuor episcopis; nimirum Dunkeldensi, Dumbrensi, Candidae Casae, et Lismorensi.

Anno vero Domini MCCCCXCVIII. loco sedis Sodorensis in insula

Monn, quae ab Anglis fuerat occupata, erecta est in Iona, insula sedes Hyensis, quae et Insularum dicta est, et olim ante conjunctionem regnorum Pictici et Scotici, et foundationem sedis S. Andreae creditur fuisse praecipua sedes episcopi Scotorum. Haec igitur sedes Hyensis sive Insularum una cum episcopis Candidae Casae et Lismorensi, assignata est in suffraganeam metropolis Glasguensis, a qua distractae sunt sedes Dunkeldensis et Dumblanensis, et metropoli S. Andreae denuo restitutae.

Constituta tandem in hunc modum in ecclesiis Scotiae eadem canonica dispositione episcoporum sub metropolitanis, quae in reliquis ecclesiis per orbem Christianum diu antea vigerat, modus etiam synodos habendi universalis ecclesiae disciplinae congruentior in ecclesias nostras introductus est et stabilitus. Qualis autem ille fuerit, colligere licet ex actis potissimum trium posteriorum conciliorum provincialium, quae habita sunt, A.D. MDXLIX., MDLI., et MDLIX., sub Johanne Hamilton, ultimo Scotiae primate; quae sola ex omnibus conciliis nostris provincialibus post erectionem metropolis S. Andreae ad meam notitiam pervenerunt.

Ex horum conciliorum actis praesertim vero ex literis indictionis concilii postremi per primatem ad archiepiscopum Glasguensem transmissis, necnon ex mandato ejusdem archiepiscopi ad suos suffraganeos, servatam fuisse constat in convocandis et habendis synodis nostris provincialibus formam quae sequitur.

Archiepiscopus S. Andreae, Scotiae primas, hortante (non autem jubente, aut literis ad eum datis mandante), regina regente, indicit et convocat auctoritate sua metropolitana et regni primatiali concilium provinciale—generale totius cleri Scotici habendum, ipso primате praeside et proponente, loco tali, inchoandum die tali, cum continuatione dierum, pro conservanda libertate ecclesiastica, pro catholica religione sustentanda, pro suppressione haeresium, pro moribus reformandis, etc., missis in hunc finem literis convocationis tum ad suos suffraganeos episcopos, tum ad archiepiscopum Glasguensem, qui eodem modo suos etiam suffraganeos ad idem concilium convocaret. Injunctum est etiam singulis episcopis, ut abbates, priores, commendatarios, etc., requirerent die et loco praescriptis concilio adesse.

Quantum vero ad membra constituenta (si fas ita loqui) conciliorum nostrorum provincialium, sive ad personas, quae ad concilia nostra vocari solebant, sive ad consultandum, sive ad determinanda et definienda ea

quae proponerentur, praeter episcopos ipsos (quorum in omnibus primae partes erant) abbates, majores priores, decanos, praepositos, archidiaconos etc. qui erant quasi delegati nati, sive ordinarii ad concilia provincialia, praeter hos, inquam, ad posteriora nostra concilia, praesertim vero ad ultimum, quod anno Domini MDLIX., habitum est (quoniam jam de summa rerum, et vere de aris et focis, deque ipsius fidei et catholicae religionis in Scotia integritate et incolumitate agebatur, injunctum est episcopis per primatem, ut praeter deputatos, sive delegatos ordinarios, ex singulis diocesisibus secum ad concilium adducerent viros prudentia et doctrina insigniores tam ex clero, quam ex omnium ordinum regularibus, quatenus conjunctis studiis remedia magis opportuna et efficacia ad avertendam cladem ecclesiae Scoticae atque etiam monarchiae imminentem proponerent, et concordibus votis decernerent adhibenda.

Quam studiose istud praestitum fuerit in postremo illo concilio provinciali anno Domini MDLIX. Edinburgi habito, probant luculenter pauca illa, quae adhuc supersunt ex ipsis actis; quibus proposita et decreta sunt efficacissima, quae per ea tempora licebant, remedia ignorantiae praesertim, et corruptis ecclesiasticorum et religiosorum moribus, aliisque abusibus, qui contra canones et ecclesiae catholicae sensum et spiritum, dormientibus, ut ita dicam, et in otio et luxu sopitis pastoribus, in ecclesia Scotiana succeverant, quique catholicis scandalum, et ansam in ecclesiam insurgendi novatoribus praebebant.

Quominus autem ista cleri nostri decreta et canones de reformatione tam felicem haberent exitum, quam fuerant sapienter condita, ut nihil dicam de socordia aliisque vitiis eorum, quibus incumbebat invigilare decretorum executioni; ex ipsa rerum in Scotia his temporibus gestarum historia omnibus nota manifestum est, tam subitaneo impetu a novatoribus nostris omnem ordinem tam ecclesiastici status, quam civilis (introducendae novae reformationis praetextu) subversum esse, ut exequendis de vera et canonica reformatione decretis nullus jam locus superesset; deturbatis praesertim dispersisque huc illuc episcopis, et viris omnium ordinum ecclesiasticis, antiquae fidei cultoribus, ante diem vigesimum tertium Februarii (dominica septuagesimae) anno Domini MDLX., qui dies ex postremo statuto ultimi concilii, praescriptus erat habendo novo provinciali concilio; in quo diligenter discutiendum erat, utrum decreta postremi concilii anno superiori habiti, executioni fuissent demandata, vel novae rationes

ineundae, quibus disciplina ecclesiastica restitueretur, et canonica reformatio; quantum rerum et temporum circumstantiae paterentur, pacifice et paulatim introduceretur, donec concilium generale jam inchoatum (cujus continuatio bonorum omnium votis ardentissimis postulabatur) remedia efficaciora ecclesiae malis suprema auctoritate praescriberet.

THOMAS INNESE.

Parisiis 23 die Novembris,
A.D. MDCCXXIV.

THE
CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX OF THE CONTENTS.

BOOK FIRST.

A. D. NUMBERS.		PAGE
	I. Introduction—First Inhabitants of Scotland—Meates or Midland Britons—Caledonians or Picts—Pictish Chronicle,.....	3
80	II. Agricola's Expedition into Caledonia,.....	4
84	III. Battle betwixt Romans and Caledonians,.....	6
121	IV. Adrian's Expedition—First Wall in Northumberland,.....	8
138	V. Lollius Urbicus' Expedition against Caledonians under Antonine—First Wall betwixt the Friths,.....	8
	VI. First light of the Gospel in Britain—in Scotland,.....	9
	VII. Fable of the disciples of S. John preaching in Scotland,.....	10
183	VIII. Motions of Caledonians under Commodus,.....	12
	IX. Union of Meates and Caledonians,.....	13
	X. Tradition of early conversion of Inhabitants of Scotland—Fordun's and Boece's account,.....	13
209	XI. Tertullian's passage Britannia inaccessa Romanis, &c.,.....	14
	XII. Severus' Expedition through Scotland,.....	16
211	XIII. Severus' Wall in Northumberland,.....	18
230	XIV. Strength of Caledonians,.....	19
	XV. Caledonians the same as Picts,.....	20
303	XVI. Number of Christians increases in the North of Britain,.....	22
306	XVII. Constantine Emperor—Liberty of Christians,.....	22
314	XVIII. Bishops from Britain at Councils of Arles,.....	23
359 of Rimini, &c.,.....	23
	XIX. Episcopal Government propagated northward with Religion,.....	24
360	XX. Scots first mentioned by Ammian,.....	24

A.D.	NUMBERS.	PAGE
	XXI. Whence and where the Scots came into Britain,.....	25
364	XXII. Progress of Picts and Scots against Roman Empire,.....	27
367	XXIII. The General Theodosius sent against them,	27
	XXIV. Picts and Scots repulsed by Theodosius,.....	28
369	XXV. Territories betwixt Southern and Northern Walls erected into a Province called Valentia,.....	30
	XXVI. Civil and Religious polity propagated in the North of Britain,.....	31
	XXVII. First Preachers of Gospel in the North of Britain, of whose names we have account, all of them Bishops,	32
	XXVIII. S. Ninian, Bishop, educated at Rome,.....	33
	XXIX. S. Patrick, his country, captivity, education,.....	34
383	XXX. Maximus usurps the Empire in Britain—Origin of story of dissolution of Scottish Monarchy,.....	38
390	XXXI. S. Ninian returns to the North of Britain—Converts the Southern Picts,	39
	XXXII. Picts and Scots invade the Roman provinces in Britain,.....	40
395	Stilicho sends troops to repress them,.....	40
409	XXXIII. Many usurpers of the Empire in Britain—Britons shake off the Roman yoke,.....	41
	XXXIV. S. Ninian's Labours among the Midland Britons and Southern Picts—Monastery at Candida Casa—Ordination of Bishops,—S. Ninian's death—honour to his relics,.....	42
422	XXXV. Britons attacked by Scots and Picts, have again recourse to Romans—Northern wall rebuilt,.....	45
426	XXXVI. Britons succoured by Romans for the last time against the Northern enemies—Northern Wall re-established—Romans forsake Britain,.....	46
	XXXVII. Valentia abandoned to the Picts, &c.,.....	47
429	XXXVIII. S. German and Lupus come to Britain against the Pelagians—Alleluia Victory against the Picts—honour to relics,	48
	XXXIX. Of the Mission of S. Palladius to the Scots—Discussion of the passages of Prosper, Nennius, &c., concerning this Mission,.....	51
	XL. Examination of the glosses of Fordun upon Prosper's words, and of his inferences from them—of new Scheme of Church Government formed by Presbyterians upon Fordun's words, ante eujus (Palladii) adventum, &c.,.....	57

A.D. NUMBERS.		PAGE
	XLI. Account of Palladius, according to the tradition of the Scots— S. Servanus Suffragan to Palladius—Palladius' relics—Of de- bates of Scots and Irish, _____	65
	XLII. S. Patrick's Mission to Ireland—Conversions—Monasteries— Ordination of Bishops, _____	68
	XLIII. Of the nature and necessity of the Episcopal order for the being of a Christian Church. Distinction of what is essential and im- mutable in Episcopacy, and what is changeable, according to the circumstances of times and places, _____	70
	XLIV. Bishops at large—National Bishops. Different situation of Bishops within and without the Roman Empire, _____	76
	XLV. Manner of preaching and propagating the Gospel in Ireland and Northern parts of Britain without the bounds of the Roman Empire—Monasteries—Use of letters taught—Bishops ordained, _____	80
	XLVI. Many Bishops in Ireland, why?—Districts or Dioceses settled only by degrees, _____	84
	XLVII. Councils attributed to S. Patrick, containing rules of discipline, in use afterwards among the Northern Inhabitants of Britain as well as among the Irish, _____	85
	XLVIII. S. Patrick preaches, and settles Bishops in the Isles adjacent to, and apparently in Scotland, _____	87
446	XLIX. Transactions in the South of Britain—Britons, oppressed by Picts, address in vain to the Romans for aid, _____	88
447	L. Picts take possession of Valentia as their property, _____	89
449	LI. Britons call in the Saxons to their aid against the Picts and Scots, _____	91
	LII. Saxons turn their arms against the Britons—They ravage the Country, render themselves Masters of it by degrees—Britons forced to retire to the corners of the Island, to the Midland Britons, and some of them abroad, _____	92
	LIII. Of the ancient Kings of the Caledonians or Picts in the abstract of the Pictish Chronicle, _____	94
451	LIV. Of Durst thirty-seventh, king of the Picts—his death—Talore or Talarg, thirty-eighth king of Picts, reigned four years, _____	95
455	LV. Neetan or Naitan <u>L</u> , thirty-ninth king of Picts, reigned twenty-five years, _____	96
458	Foundation of Abernethy by King Neetan, _____	96

A.D. NUMBERS.		PAGE
	LVI. Progress of the Saxons against the old Britons—Of Ambrose, Arthur, &c., Kings of Britons,.....	98
	LVII. Of Coroticus. Death of S. Patrick—of his writings,.....	99
	LVIII. Of the miracles of S. Patrick, and of the other first Preachers of the Gospel in our Northern parts—Of Bede's silence of S. Patrick in his History—the word Confessor in ancient writers equivalent to Confessor et Episcopus,.....	102

BOOK SECOND.

480	I. To King Nectan succeeded Drest Gormoth, fortieth king of Picts, reigned thirty years—Of the erection of the Monarchy of the Scots in Britain—Occasion of it—Saxons press upon the Scots,.....	107
	II. Fordun antedates the Monarchy—Fordun rectified,.....	110
503	Scots in Britain oppressed and threatened by Picts—Fergus, son of Erch comes from Ireland with auxiliaries—Erects the Monarchy, and makes himself the first King of the Scots in Britain,.....	110
	III. Of the Christianity and Ecclesiastical Government of the Scots,—Episcopal Government in king Fergus's line—Names of Bishops,.....	113
	IV. King Fergus, son of Erch, establishes the Monarchy and makes it independent and hereditary,.....	116
506	Dongard, second king of the Scots, succeeds immediately to Fergus his Father, reigned five years,.....	117
510	Galanan or Galaim, forty-first king of Picts, reigned twelve years,.....	118
511	Comgal third king of Scots, succeeds immediately to his Father Dongard, reigns twenty-four years,.....	118
	V. Of Gildas, the first British writer—debates about the place and time of his birth,.....	118
	VI. Of the beginnings of Gildas,.....	122
	VII. Of S. Kentigern or Mungo, Bishop of Glasgow, his beginnings—Marken or Marcus, King of Midland Britons or Cumbrians,.....	124
	VIII. Kentigern's retreat to Wales—Monastery at Elwy—Laus perennis,.....	127

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

lix

A.D. NUMBERS.		PAGE
522	IX. Kings of Picts, Dadrest, forty-second King, reigned one year, —	128
523 Drest son of Gyrom, with Drest son of Adrost, forty-third king, reigned five years, —	128
529 Drest, son of Gyrom alone, reigned five years, — Death of S. Brigid and Darlugtach, —	128
531 Gartnach, forty-fourth king of Picts, reigned seven years, —	128
535	Gauran, son of Dongard, fourth king of Scots, reigned twenty-two years, —	128
541	Cealtrain, forty-fifth king of Picts, reigned one year, —	128
542	Thalarg, forty-sixth king of Picts, reigned eleven years, — Death of Arthur, king of Britons—Of king Loth, Modredus, &c.— S. David, Bishop of Britons, —	129
547	X. Beginning of Saxon Kingdom in Northumberland—Of Deira and Bernicia, —	129
	XI. Lothian the old possession of the Picts proved against Usher, &c., —	130
553	XII. Durst or Drest, forty-seventh king of Picts, reigned one year, — Galam, with Aleth, reigned one year—with Bride or Brude, reigned one year, —	132
556	Brude, son of Meilechon alone, forty-ninth king of Picts, reigned thirty years, —	132
557	Conal, son of Comgal, fifth king of Scots, reigned fourteen years, — Rederic, King of Cumbrians or Midland Britons, invites S. Kenti- gern home to Glasgow. S. Kentigern's acts—preaching— ordains Bishops, &c., —	132
	S. Kentigern's miracles—death —	134
	XIII. Act of Inquest of lands of Glasgow—successors of S. Kentigern challenged by Sir James Dalrymple, —	134
	XIV. Of negative arguments from Bede's silence, —	136
	XV. Of Episcopal Government to the South of the Firths, —	139
	XVI. Of S. Columba, Priest, Founder, and first Abbot of Ycolmkill— His Life by Cumian and Adamnan, two of his successors, —	140
	XVII. Authenticity of Adamnan's Work, —	141
	XVIII. Value and importance of Adamnan's Work to Scots History, —	147
	XIX. Parentage, education, and character of S. Columba —	148
561	XX. Occasion of his coming to Britain, —	149

A.D.	NUMBERS.	PAGE
563	XXI. S. Columba arrives in Britain,.....	150
	XXII. Donation of Y or Iona Island made to S. Columba not by the Piets, but by Conal, King of the Scots—S. Columba begins his Mission by founding a Monastery, as other Apostolic Preachers used to do,.....	152
	XXIII. The Author obliged to enter into detail concerning Yeolmkill to put matters in better light, and obviate difficulties against Episcopacy among the Scots and Piets,.....	153
	XXIV. National Bishops, among Piets, among Scots,.....	155
	XXV. Bishops at large among Scots and Piets—Names of ancient Bishops among Scots and Piets—Design of Divine Providence in the foundation of Yeolmkill,.....	159
	XXVI. Description of Yeolmkill—Discipline of Yeolmkill,.....	162
	XXVII. Columbites rather regular Clergy than properly Monks—Institution introduced from Gaul by S. Patrick,.....	164
	XXVIII. Exercises of Columbites—1. Prayer, private and public, at the stated canonical hours of day and night—Mass—Faith of the Columbites about the Holy Eucharist—Particular usages,.....	166
	XXIX. 2d Exercise—Lecture, Studies, Holy Scripture,.....	168
	XXX. 3d Exercise—Writing or Copying Books—4th Exercise—Corporal Labour—Fasting, Abstinence, &c.,.....	170
	XXXI. Yeolmkill, Centre Arsenal and Bulwark of religious matters among Scots and Piets for a long time, with subordination to and union with Churches abroad,.....	172
	XXXII. Yeolmkill Nursery of Bishops and Priests as well as Monks among the Scots and Piets—Of the nature of the superiority attributed by Bede to Abbot of Yeolmkill,.....	173
	XXXIII. Of the respect paid to the Episcopal character by S. Columba—More respect paid to and greater distinction made of Bishops in Yeolmkill than elsewhere,.....	174
	XXXIV. Distinction of power of order and that of jurisdiction—Deacons aspiring to equality or even jurisdiction over Priests,.....	177
	XXXV. Columbite Abbots—Priests or Monks never claimed power of Ordination—Of Findchan, Superior of Columbite Monastery of Ardehan, and ordination of Aidus Niger,.....	178

A.D.	NUMBERS.		PAGE
	XXXVI.	Remarks upon this relation of Adaman—Bishops among Scots and Picts ready at a call,.....	180
	XXXVII.	Necessity of a Bishop residing in Yeolmkill—Bishops in great Monasteries residing with the Abbots—Bishops conadjutors to Abbots or Priests, Superiors of Monasteries for ordination, confirmation, &c.,.....	183
	XXXVIII.	More proofs of Bishops in Yeolmkill,.....	186
	XXXIX.	Yeolmkill supplied anciently, not only want of Diocesan Bishops but that of Parishes and proper Priests or Curates, by the many Monasteries or Cells of Columbites, spread everywhere through the Scots and Picts—No argument can be drawn from Adaman's silence of what he proposed not to treat of—Of Columbite Monasteries in particular,.....	187
	XL.	Zeal and labours of the Columbite Bishops, Priests, and religious men—Origin of the Keledees,.....	190
563	XLI.	Chronological account resumed—S. Columba erects Monastery of Yeolmkill,.....	191
	XLII.	S. Oran's death,.....	192
566	XLIII.	Conversion of Brude, King of the Picts,.....	193
	XLIV.	Progress of the Gospel among the Picts—New Monasteries erected—S. Machar at Aberdeen,.....	193
	XLV.	Conversion of the Picts by the preaching, prayer, exemplary lives of S. Columba and his Disciples, accompanied with miracles,	195
	XLVI.	Miracles necessary to convert the Picts, and to prove a Mission from God—Short account of S. Columba's miracles set down from Adaman,.....	195
	XLVII.	Conversions sincere and lasting, because voluntary, without compulsion—of the Magician Broiehanus obstinate,.....	196
568	XLVIII.	Continuation of Gildas—Gildas' works—he is called to make reformation in Ireland by King Ainmire,.....	198
570		Gildas' death,.....	200
571	XLIX.	Aidan, sixth king of the Scots, succeeds his cousin Conal—King Aidan inaugurated by S. Columba by special order of God—Antiquity of Inauguration or Coronation of Kings of Scots,.....	200
	L.	God Almighty's particular care of the Royal Family of Scotland—Kings of Scots chosen by God—their persons sacred,.....	203

A.D. NUMBERS.		PAGE
	LI. Of S. Brendan Abbot—S. Columba orders mass to be celebrated in his Monastery of Ycolmkill upon news of the death of any of his friends—of sea voyages in quest of desert islands for setting up houses of penance. Orkney and the northern extremities of Britain subject to the Picts,.....	204
	LII. Practice of S. Columba in the administration of the sacrament of penance. Confession—delay of absolution—reconciliation and communion at Easter, &c.,.....	205
584	LIII. Battle of Stanmore or Fethenlegh,.....	206
586	LIV. Death of Brude King of Picts—Garnard or Gartnach, fiftieth king succeeds—of the foundations and restorations of the Monastery of Abernethy—S. Mazola.....	206
588	Of S. Constantine, King of Britons—Drumcheat Assembly—of S. Columban, Founder of Luxeu and Bobbio,.....	208
592	LV. Battle of Wodenbureh—Prælium Miatorum. S. Columba obtains victory to King Aidan—Ceulin, King of Britons, quite defeated, Nectan or Naitan, fifty-first king of Picts—of Abernethy,	210
597	LVI. Death of S. Columba 9th June—Circumstances of his death—Crosses set up—Vespers—Nocturnal or midnight office—Obsequies celebrated during three days,.....	211
	LVII. S. Columba's relics remain still in Ycolmkill—Translation of them to Down in Ireland fabulous,.....	215
	LVIII. Respect paid to S. Columba's memory,.....	217

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE first view I had from the beginning of this undertaking was to collect what I could discover of the remains of the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland or the northern parts of Britain,—that part having been very much neglected by our former writers, or sadly misrepresented by our writers since the new Reformation. But my finding that entirely impracticable without a thorough enquiry into, and discussion of the civil state of the ancient inhabitants of these northern parts, gave rise to the Critical Essays: and these concluding in a very different representation of the ancient civil state of the north of Britain from what our vulgar writers gave of it, seemed to require a Chronological Account of the civil as well as ecclesiastical transactions in those parts of the Island, that might answer and agree to the plan laid in the foresaid Essays.

Now I easily foresaw that each of these parts of our ancient history—I mean the civil and ecclesiastical—if treated apart by itself, would be so very inconsiderable and interrupted, for want of ancient monuments to go upon, especially in the times I have in view, that it would not be possible to reduce such small parcels into one continued series. Wherefore I could not but choose to join both parts together, and interweave them so in the order of time, as much as it can be observed, that both together might make one thread of

history. Which method will, I hope, be attended with this farther advantage that each part will mutually give light one to another.

For this reason, and also for clearing some controverted points, especially of the ecclesiastical part of our history, and rendering it more useful, I shall be obliged to interrupt sometimes the series of it by critical observations or digressions, larger or shorter, as the matter shall require. Nor is this without example in some of the best of our modern British writers, especially when not furnished with abundance enough of historical detailed accounts, which is too truly our case, who have nothing oftentimes but short passages, and sometimes but hints to go upon.

This is in general what I have in view, and the method in which I am to proceed in this second part of this Essay on the History of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland, in which I include all those provinces of this Island that do at present or at any time past did belong to the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland.

THE
CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK FIRST.

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I DID endeavour, in the first part of this Essay, to give the most distinct account I could of the ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, commonly called Scotland, according to the order of the time of their first settlement, to which I must refer to avoid repetitions.

The first known of these ancient inhabitants were the *Mæatæ*, whom I call Midland Britons, because they dwelt betwixt the southern and northern walls; next to them were the Caledonians, afterwards called Picts. The ancient possessions of the Caledonians were all the territories beyond the friths of Forth and Clyde, to the extremities of the north of Britain.

I endeavoured also to show that the present inhabitants of Scotland, in their several provinces, have a right to reckon both these ancient people, the *Mæats* and the Caledonians, among their predecessors; and that they have as just a title to claim all of them who were eminent either for their warlike actions or for the sanctity of their lives, for their countrymen, as those descended of the Scots who came from Ireland; and by consequence that all that we find recorded of these two nations first known, and indeed of all the ancient inhabitants of the north of Britain, of whatever origin, belongs no less to the history of the present inhabitants of Scotland, than what is related of the Scots.

I am now to give account, according to the order of time, as much as that can be observed, of what I can meet with in ancient writers of the transactions, civil or sacred, among these ancient inhabitants of the north of Britain, from the time I find first mention of them in approved writers.

A. D. 80.

We have no certain account of Britain till the Romans under Julius Cæsar entered it, nor have we any light into the northern parts of the island till the Romans carried their arms thither, about the eightieth year of Christ. For as to the abstract of the Pictish Chronicle, frequently mentioned in the first part of this Essay, and published in the Appendix^(a) to it, containing a catalogue of their ancient kings, from Cruithne their first king—this catalogue may indeed serve to show that the Caledonians, known afterwards by the name of Picts, looked upon themselves as the most ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, and as having had a succession of kings of their own nation as ancient as either the Britons or the Irish lay claim to. But I do not pretend that the series of kings, contained in the first part of that abstract, from Cruithne to Durst the son of Irb, is a proper voucher for a history of these kings; much less can the number of years assigned to each of these kings' reigns, be a solid ground to fix their chronology, unless some more correct copy be found out.

My intention, then, is to pass over the first part of that catalogue at present, and to begin the setting down a chronological account of the succession of the Pictish kings, only from the reign of Durst, son of Irb, in the beginning of the fifth century, where the second part of that abstract begins. And, in the meantime, to set down a chronological account of what I can find in the Roman and in other ancient writers, concerning the most ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of the island, which composed afterwards the kingdom of Scotland, to wit, of the Britons of the north, called *Mæates* by Dio; of the Caledonians or Picts; and of the Scots, from their first entry into Britain; and to interweave, in the order of time, the civil or military transactions with what I can discover of the planting and progress of the doctrine and discipline of Christianity in these parts of the island.

II. The first assured transaction that we meet with, happened towards the latter end of the first century, when the Roman arms first penetrated into these northern parts, under the command of Julius Agricola, during the reigns of Titus and Domitian, the emperors. We have an exact account of this expedition of Agricola into the north of Britain, from his son-in-law, the historian Cornelius Tacitus.^(b) He informs us that Agricola was sent to command in Britain under Vespasian, about A. D. 78:

^(a) Crit. Essay, app. ii.^(b) Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. ix.

That, during the two first years of his administration, having settled the affairs, and by some new conquests enlarged the limits of the Roman province in Britain, in the third year he attacked the northern nations, unknown till then, and marched with his forces as far as the frith^(a) of Tay, wasting the country before him. The inhabitants surprised with this sudden invasion were at first so astonished that they made no great opposition to the Roman army, nor attacked it; and Agricola had, by this means, time to build some forts and settle garrisons for securing his march and conquests.

A. D. 80.

In this he spent the fourth year of his administration, and finding the short neck of land betwixt the friths^(b) of Clyde and Forth a proper place to settle garrisons, he fortified it from sea to sea; separating, by this means, from his new conquests the nations beyond these friths as in another island. For, though he had the year before made incursions beyond the friths, as far north as the river Tay, yet it appears that he intended at first to have fixed the bounds of the Roman empire in Britain at the narrow passage betwixt the friths.

But as the Roman ambition, which Tacitus calls their glory, had no bounds, so in the following year, the fifth of Agricola's government, he marched again his army beyond the friths, entered Caledonia, subdued nations till that time unknown to the Romans, and fortified that part of the island that lies towards Ireland; and that not out of any apprehension of an invasion from thence, but in view of conquering also that island, as a sure means to secure the Roman conquests in these parts, by putting the conquered Britons out of all hopes of recovering their liberty when they should see no free nation around them, but all subjected to the dominion of the Romans.

Tacitus informs us that he heard Agricola often say that Ireland might have been conquered with one single legion and a few auxiliaries; whereas the inhabitants of Caledonia were able at the same time to dispute their territories against all the Roman army in Britain, and to render their victory very doubtful.

This marks a great difference in military forces or valour betwixt these two people in those times, and yet this is the most assured account that had hitherto been given of the ancient state of Ireland: since Agricola

^(a) Vastatis usque ad Taurum (æstuario nomen est) nationibus. Tacit. *ibid.* c. xxii.

^(b) Glotæ et Bodotriæ. *Ibid.* c. xxiii.

A. D. 83. had it from one of their own princes, forced out of the country by domestic sedition, whom, in view of the conquest of Ireland, he received and entertained, to be informed by him of the state and strength of the inhabitants.

In the sixth year, Agricola being informed that a general insurrection of all the Caledonians was to be apprehended, and that the enemies had beset the passages by land, he therefore set out a fleet, the sight whereof struck no small terror in the Caledonians, seeing that even the sea could not shelter them, and that there was no refuge or place of retreat to them, if they happened to be overcome. Wherefore they took unanimously arms with so great preparation and show, that it struck terror in many of the Romans, and made them think of returning back.

Agricola being informed that the enemies had divided their forces, and were resolved to set upon his army in several bodies, divided also his army into three bodies, not to be inclosed by the enemy, who, getting notice of this new disposition of the Roman forces, altered suddenly their resolution, and attacked all in one body the ninth legion in the night time, killed the watches, and broke into the Roman camp. But Agricola, assembling quickly all his forces, fell suddenly on their rear, whence, after a famous fight, the Caledonians, being thus attacked unawares on both sides, were at last beat out of the camp.

This advantage, as it encouraged the Romans to demand by their acclamations to be led into Caledonia, and to find out the utmost bounds of Britain, so it nothing dismayed the Caledonians; who, attributing it rather to the art and cunning of the Roman general than to the valour of his forces, armed their youth, transported their wives and children into secure places, and having nothing now to expect but either revenge or slavery, made all necessary preparations for a vigorous defence. Nothing being more necessary for that than an entire union and concord among themselves, they made leagues and associations to stand one by another in the common cause, confirmed them by sacrifices, and thus they made up a great army.

III. In the following summer, the seventh of his government, Agricola having sent his fleet before, plundering everywhere the coast where it touched, followed it himself with his land army as far as the foot of the Grampian hills. Meantime the Caledonians, to the number of thirty thousand men, besides the prime of their youth that flocked daily unto them, were come up within sight of the enemy. They were commanded

by Galgacus, the chief of all their leaders or chieftains, both by valour and by birth, says Tacitus; which seems to import that Galgacus was their king. He having then assembled the chief of them, and observing the ardour with which all of them demanded battle, made use of the occasion and made a noble harangue to them, which may be seen at length in my author. In short he represented to them the ambition of the Romans, their tyranny, the necessity either of vanquishing them or becoming their slaves, there being left no place of retreat or refuge; he minded them of their own past valour, and how glorious a thing it was to them to have hitherto distinguished themselves from all the other Britons, by preserving alone their liberty from the yoke of the Romans. And to pique them with honour,^(a) "Let us show," says he, "what kind of men Caledonia hath reserved for its defence!" This speech was received by the Caledonians with all the demonstrations of joy and applause.

Agricola having also made a speech to his army, they drew up on both sides for battle, and immediately fell on. The Caledonians, as it was usual among the Britons, fought partly on foot, partly on chariots; they used large broad swords without points and little targets. They attacked the Romans with great fury and disputed long the victory, which at last, chiefly by the martial skill and conduct of the general, inclined to the Romans. The Caledonians rallied frequently in their retreat; turned upon the enemy and cut off those that pursued them. This obliged Agricola to cause his troops pursue in bodies; and by that means the Caledonians were dispersed and the victory completed. After this battle, which was fought near the Grampian hills, Agricola marched back his army into the country of the Horesti (which is thought to be Angus), and took hostages of the inhabitants.

Meantime his fleet made the tour of Britain to the north, and discovered it was an isle. They found out and subdued the Orkney Islands, unknown, as Tacitus thinks, till that time. They discovered also Thule, that is, either the high hills of Norway, or Shetland Island; and so returned to the port whence they had set out.

News of these victories of Agricola, in Britain, being brought to Rome, excited the jealousy of the emperor Domitian, and engaged him, under pretext of employing Agricola in a more honourable commission, to call

^(a) Ostendamus quos sibi viros Caledonia seposuerit. Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. xxxi.

A. D. 121. him back to Rome. And thus all that he had conquered in the north of Britain was immediately lost; and the Caledonians recovered their liberty, as well as the *Mæates*, or Midland Britons; and the limits of the Roman empire, which Agricola had endeavoured to fix at the friths of Clyde and Forth, were forced back to Northumberland, where we shall see that Adrian the emperor, was contented to settle them about twenty-six years after Agricola had left the island.

During that interval we have no account of any expedition of the Romans against these northern nations, nor of any motion of these northern nations against the Roman province. It appears the *Mæates* were content with their old possessions in the Midland; and the Caledonians, beside their ancient seat benorth the friths, enjoyed quietly the possessions they had obtained adjoining the *Mæates*, on the south side of these friths.

IV. The next expedition of the Romans into Britain was by the emperor Adrian, who came over himself in person, A. D. 121. When he arrived in the island, and had examined the state of the Roman province, and observed how much exposed the provincials lay to the excursions of the Caledonians and other northern nations, he, according to his custom on all frontiers of the empire, caused erect a wall, or fence, of eighty miles in length, to separate the Roman or provincial Britons, as Spartian relates, from the barbarous or unconquered nations of the north.

There being no certain account or remains of any ancient Roman wall in Britain but in two places, the one in Northumberland, betwixt Carlisle and Tynemouth, where the country is about eighty miles in breadth, the other in Scotland, betwixt the friths of Clyde and Forth, where the passage is only about thirty miles; the length that Spartian^(a) assigns to Adrian's wall, being eighty miles, shows plainly that it stood in Northumberland. Several Roman inscriptions found there prove the same, nor is the thing disputed.

V. Though Adrian built this wall in Northumberland, as the boundary of the Roman province in Britain, yet the Romans did not lay down their claim to the further parts of it, as far as the friths of Clyde and Forth, which Agricola had formerly subdued and inclosed with castles and fences. So we see that, A. D. 138, during Antonine's reign, and by his order, Lollius Urbicus, his lieutenant in Britain, attacked the northern nations,

^(a) *Britanniam petiit (Adrianus) in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui Barbaros Romanosque divideret. Spartian. in Adriano. [c. xi.]*

forced the Caledonians out of the debateable ground, betwixt the walls, and fortified a second time the pass betwixt Clyde and Forth, with another^(a) wall built of turf, says Capitolinus, but intermixed with piles or stakes, as Spartian tells us, Adrian used to build those liminary fences. Besides that, all these fences or walls erected against the eruptions of the nations bordering upon the empire were fortified from place to place with castles or stonework, whereby guards were settled, and upon which commonly there were inscriptions: in the places where the wall stood betwixt Clyde and Forth there have been found inscriptions of Antonine and Lollius Urbicus, which show evidently that Antonine's wall stood there; for none of either of them have been found in Northumberland.

A. D. 138.

VI. By this wall of Antonine, the Mæatæ or Midland Britons were included and reunited to the body of the Roman empire in Britain, and by that means a communication was established betwixt them and the rest of the Britons, among whom by this time there were many Christians. For it hath been very well made out by some of our late British writers, particularly from the authority of Eusebius^(b) the church historian, that the faith of Christ began to be preached in the Roman part of Britain even in the Apostles' own time; and that passage of Eusebius, being compared with what Gildas^(c) says of the first light of the Gospel shining in this island, it appears probable that this happened about the middle of the reign of Nero, that is about A.D. 71. But all that is related by the British writers, concerning the first instruments that God made use of towards procuring us that blessing, seems very uncertain if not fabulous. However, by this early establishment of the Gospel in Britain, and considering especially the zeal of the Christians of these primitive times, we may justly suppose that the Gospel must have made, by the time of Antonine, a considerable progress in the island, and by consequence, that the including, by Antonine's wall, the Mæates, and incorporating them into the body of the empire in Britain, gave a favourable occasion of propagating the Gospel among these northern inhabitants of the nation, even the length of the friths, where the wall stood. It was thus by degrees, from small and almost insensible beginnings, that the knowledge of the truth spread through the island; as it pleased Divine Providence to open a door for the manifestation of it. I

^(a) Crit. Essay, p. 12.^(b) Euseb. De Præparat. Evangel. lib. iii. c. 7.^(c) Gildas, c. vi.

A. D. 138. shall take notice of these favourable opportunities as they present themselves in the order of time.

Bede^(a) gives us a farther account of the progress of the Gospel in Britain, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, or beginning of that of Commodus. Lucius, a king of the Britons, says Bede, having sent a letter to Pope Eleutherius, intreating that by his means he might be made a Christian, soon after received the effect of his request, which no doubt contributed not a little to the increase of the number of Christians, not only in the territories of this king but in other parts of the island.

VII. I must not omit to mention here the opinion of our first Protestant writers after the new Reformation, who pretend that we had our first Christianity from the disciples of the Apostle S. John, that notion having been lately revived by Sir James Dalrymple^(b) in his Collections. It was, in all appearance, the above mentioned passage of Bede, where he attributes the first Christianity of the Britons to Pope Eleutherius; and the passage of Fordun, considerably augmented by Boece, with a new detail of circumstances by which the first light of the Gospel among the Scots is attributed to Pope Victor; it was, I say, apparently these passages, of which afterwards, that gave occasion to our first Protestant writers to invent this story, not to have it thought that any good, especially such a blessing as that of the Gospel, could come to us from a Pope. For the principal means to carry on the work of the times of our Reformation, being to decry the Popes and the Church of Rome, and to render them odious to the people, to avoid the inconvenience of having it thought that we had the light of the Gospel, and the destruction of idolatry, in our country, from Rome, our first Protestant writers invented this fabulous story of the disciples of S. John—their coming from Lesser Asia to preach the Gospel in Scotland.

The first of our writers I meet with, that advanced this paradox, was our famed historian, Mr. George Buchanan,^(c) in King Aidan's life; where, in order to decry the mission of S. Augustine, sent from Pope Gregory to preach to the Saxons, he tells us very confidently that "the ancient Britons received Christianity from S. John's disciples by learned and pious monks of that age." I need not take notice to the learned

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 4.

^(b) Epist. Dedicat. p. 2. Preface, p. xlv.

^(c) Buchanan. Hist. in Rege Aidano.

reader that this was two or three centuries before the institution of monks or monasteries. But what Mr. George says only of the Britons in general, his namesake, Mr. David Buchanan,^(a) applies particularly to the Scots, and tells us that "those who came into our northern parts," to wit, into Scotland, "and first made known unto our fathers the mysteries of heaven, were of the disciples of S. John the Apostle." He repeats again^(b) that the Scots had received "their tenets and rites," that is, the doctrine and discipline of Christianity, "from their first apostles, disciples to S. John," according to "the Church of the East," and adds, for the proof of it (notwithstanding that Bede, a contemporary author and upon the place, assures us over and over of the contrary, as we shall see in its proper place); Mr. David, I say, adds that till then, the seventh age, the Scots had kept the day of Pasche upon the fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day of the week it fell upon.

A. D. 138.

About the same time, Bishop Spottiswoode,^(c) the Protestant Primate, in his Church History, after rejecting the opinions of our former writers, Fordun, Boece, &c., tells his own was, that "when the Apostle S. John was relegated to Patmos, some of his disciples have taken their refuge hither, and been the first preachers of the Gospel in this kingdom" (of Scotland). Sir James Dalrymple supposed, it seems, this story so certain that he hath not been at the pains to bring any proofs of it. At least none can be found in the place^(d) to which he remits us for them. It may have been, perhaps, a bare fault of the printer, who hath unluckily passed over the grounds and authorities contained in Sir James's copy. However that be, all the grounds that I can perceive that our first Protestant writers had for this story, are taken from the relation Bede hath given us of the warm dispute⁽¹⁾ betwixt our Bishop Colman and Wilfrid, at the conference of Streneschal, about Easter, where the good Bishop, being hardly put to it by the arguments of Wilfrid, and willing to take hold of any precedent or probable reason to support his cause, alleged the example of S. John and his disciples in Asia, who differed from the rest of the Church in the observation of Easter. But Wilfrid having observed to him the difference there

^(a) David Buchanan's Preface to Knox's History, edit. Lond. folio, p. 1.

^(b) Ibid. p. 31.

^(c) Hist. p. 2. [edit. 1677.]

^(d) Vindication of Collections, p. 32.

⁽¹⁾ [Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 25.]

A. D. 138. — was betwixt the practice of S. John and his followers in Asia, who kept Easter always on the fourteenth of the moon, whatever day of the week it happened, and the custom of the Scots, who kept Easter always upon a Sunday (which Colman could not deny), and Wilfrid having proved to him by that observation, that the example of S. John and of the Asiatics could be of no service to him in that debate; accordingly Colman dropt this proof, and had recourse to other topics, as we shall see in its proper place.

Now the argument drawn from the custom of S. John and the Asiatics being thus abandoned long ago, the story of S. John's disciples coming to preach the Gospel to the Scots in Britain, which is wholly built upon it, would of course be overturned at the same time, even though it could be shown against what hath been proved at length, in the first part of this Essay, that the Scots had been, in the first age of Christianity, settled in Britain.

But this groundless story of our first Conversion by S. John's disciples is now abandoned by the more learned of our Protestant writers of the Episcopal Communion, and hath been refuted, as well as other paradoxes of Sir James Dalrymple's Collections upon our history, and of his Vindication of it, by the anonymous learned author⁽¹⁾ of two tracts entitled, the one, *The Life of Mr. Sage*, the other, *Remarks upon Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections*, both printed A.D. 1714, which, if they had come in time enough to my hands might have been of use to me in the discussion of the passages of Bede, relating to Episcopacy in our country. But to return to the history.

VIII. We have no account of the motions of the Caledonians during the rest of Antonine's reign, nor during that of Marcus Aurelius, his successor. But by what Dio⁽²⁾ relates, in the reign of Commodus, it appears that the Caledonians had not lain quiet, nor suffered all that tract of the debateable ground betwixt the two walls to remain in the peaceable possession of the empire. For, by the third year of Commodus, A.D. 183, the Romans were engaged by the northern nations in a formidable war; they not only having broken through the wall and ravaged the British province, but had defeated the Roman forces, killed their general and all his soldiers. Upon this the emperor Commodus, terrified with the account

⁽¹⁾ [*The Life of Bishop Sage, and the Remarks on Sir James Dalrymple, were both written by Bishop Gillan.*]

⁽²⁾ Dion, lib. lxxii. c. 8.

of this disaster, sent against the Caledonians Ulpus Marcellus, one of the greatest generals of the empire, as Dio describes him. He gave the Caledonians several overthrows, and probably forced them back to Caledonia; but Commodus, out of his innate jealousy against all great men, having soon recalled this general, and there being frequent seditions in the Roman province in Britain about these times, the Caledonians, after Marcellus retired, soon regained all that he had taken from them.

A. D. 183.

IX. For Pertinax, who succeeded in the government of Britain in the year 186, was, during the three years of his administration, almost wholly taken up^(a) with appeasing those seditions, which put his own life in danger; so that the Caledonians were at liberty to keep possession of their acquisitions in the midlands, and invade the Roman provinces in conjunction with their constant allies the Mæates.

The union^(b) of these two people, the Mæates and Caledonians, was so great, that about the year 196, during the reign of Severus, the Romans, intending to make up peace with the Caledonians, they proposed it upon condition that the Caledonians should not give succour to the Mæates, but the Caledonians would by no means abandon them. So that Virius Lupus, the Roman Governor in Britain, whilst Severus was engaged in war upon the frontiers of the empire elsewhere, and not in condition to assist him, not daring to continue the war against the Mæates, supported by the Caledonians, was obliged to buy peace from the Mæates, under pretext of ransoming the captives they had carried off from the Roman province, as they and the Caledonians were accustomed to do in their frequent incursions. Among these captives there were often Christians, and by their means the knowledge of Christ was more and more propagated among these northern nations; as there are many examples in Church history of the light of the Gospel being carried into countries bordering the empire by Christians led in captivity. And thus, by degrees, the Christian faith was introduced into the northern parts of Britain, now called Scotland.

X. There must, no doubt, have remained among the inhabitants of the north of Britain, a tradition of the first planting of Christianity among their ancestors in or about these times, and it is not unlike that this ancient tradition hath given rise to the two distichs upon the early Conversion of the Scots, composed only in, or after, the twelfth or thirteenth age, when the opinions of the early settlement of the Scots in Britain had already

^(a) Capitola. in Pertinace. [c. iii.]

^(b) Dion, lib. lxxv. c. 5.

A. D. 196. taken root, or rather when that story was generally received among them. The verses, as they are set down by our historian, John Fordun,^(a) are as follows :—

Christi transactis tribus annis atque ducentis,
Scotia catholicam cepit habere fidem ;
Roma Victore primo Papa residente ;
Princepe Severo, martyr et occubuit.

The expression "Victore primo" demonstrates these verses are posterior to the eleventh age, when Pope Victor the Second lived, and their barbarous style shows they are yet later. However, upon the authority of these verses, John Fordun, who supposed the Scots were settled in Britain some ages before the Incarnation, places their first Conversion to Christianity, A.D. 203, in the time of Pope Victor the First, though, according to the truth of history, Victor suffered martyrdom and was succeeded by Zepherin, A.D. 202. However, Fordun was copied in this, as in most other things, by Boece, who enhances upon Fordun's narration, and tells us this Conversion happened during the reign of one Donald, whom they call therefore the first Christian king of the Scots. But Fordun and Bishop Elphinstone, or whoever was the author of the Legends of the Scottish Breviary,^(b) knew nothing of this king Donald, else to be sure they had not failed to mention him upon so remarkable an occasion. We have observed elsewhere^(c) that our Scottish deputies, in the famous debate about our independency before Pope Boniface VIII., advanced that Christianity was received in Scotland in the first ages.

XI. But as to the progress that Christianity had made in the north of Britain towards the beginning of the third age, independently of these uncertain narrations of our modern writers, it appears, by what we have already taken notice of, from the disposition of the affairs in Britain, that the knowledge of Christ had very early access, at least to the Mæates or Midland Britons, inhabitants of those parts of the north of Britain that lie to the south of the friths of Clyde and Forth ; and the famous passage of Tertullian where he affirms as a known truth that "those^(d) parts of

^(a) Fordun, lib. ii. c. 35. [edit. Goodall, lib. ii. c. 40.]

^(b) Breviar. Aberdonen. in festo S. Palladii, 6to Julii.

^(c) Crit. Essay, p. 620.

^(d) Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christo vero subdita. Tertullian. contra Judæos, c. vii.

Britain where the Romans had no access were subjected to Christ," that is, were become Christians. This passage, I say, seems to put it out of all doubt that, A.D. 209, when he wrote this treatise against the Jews, the knowledge of Christianity, or the light of the Gospel, had already penetrated among the Caledonians beyond the friths, for at this time there was no part of Britain, except Caledonia, beyond these friths where the Romans had not penetrated, and which they had not subjected; and even the country of the *Mæates* betwixt the walls, called afterwards *Valentia*, had been subdued by the Romans and united to the body of the empire from the year 138, when Antonine, as we have seen, conquered by *Lollius Urbicus* that part of north Britain, and built the wall betwixt the friths to inclose it in the empire.

A. D. 209.

And it is to be observed that this passage is not an expression dropt by chance from Tertullian, but makes a part of the force of his argument, by which he proves against the Jews that Christ was the *Messias*, of whom it was foretold that the uttermost ends of the earth were given Him for his possession. He shows the accomplishment of this prophecy by enumerating the chief nations already converted to Christianity and become subjects to Christ, and among these nations he reckons the Britons, and even "those parts of Britain where the Romans had no access." Now, it had been to expose himself to the contempt of the Jews, to bring this as an argument of Christ's being the *Messias* foretold by the prophets, if the fact had been anywise liable to doubt. So we may conclude that, by the beginning of the third age, the Gospel was received in the extra-provincial parts of the island, and at least some Christians even among the Caledonians; and, by consequence, date from that the first Conversion of the inhabitants of what was afterwards called Scotland. As to the first messengers of the Gospel among these inhabitants of the north of Britain, at this distance of time, and for want of ancient monuments, we can expect no more certain account of them than of the first apostles of so many other nations converted in these first ages, such as Africa, Spain, and Britain itself, in general. But whatever ignorance we are in of the manner how the light of the Gospel was at first conveyed to these northern nations of Britain, and of the instruments Almighty God was pleased to make use of; that ought not to seem strange after the destruction of all ancient domestic monuments and records of the Caledonians or Picts, nor make us anywise doubt of the truth of a fact attested by a contemporary writer of such authority as

A. D. 209. Tertullian, and which, besides, agrees so well with the situation of affairs in Britain in those times.

Almighty God has infinite means to bring about the designs of mercy which He intends for any nation, and all instruments are sufficient in his hands. One^(a) poor captive woman was the occasion of the Conversion of the nation of the Iberians; and Frumentius, a young boy, led captive into the Indies, introduced among these people the Christian religion; and on many other occasions, Christians led in captivity have brought in the knowledge of truth into infidel nations. We have already seen, and it cannot be doubted of, but the Caledonians and Mæates carried off many captives from the provincial Britons in their frequent incursions, and no doubt in these times, since the year 183, among these captives there were many Christians of all degrees.

But whatever progress Christianity had made in these early times in the north of Britain, the uncertain state, and almost perpetual agitation the inhabitants were in, by the frequent inroads made by the Caledonians into the Roman provinces, and the Roman expeditions against them, hindered, in all appearance, churches in those parts to be formed and modelled into that regular order and discipline, which was settled almost everywhere within the provinces entirely subjected to the Roman empire, and governed by its polity and laws, which was in no manner the case of that martial people, the Caledonians.

XII. About this very time they were up in arms against the Romans, of which Severus, the emperor, being informed, and that^(b) the Mæates and Caledonians had overrun and pillaged the Roman provinces in Britain, he resolved to go himself upon an expedition against them. He marched, therefore, into Britain with great diligence, and arrived before the enemies were aware of his march.

Dio, who, with Herodian, gives us the relation of this expedition of Severus, begins it with an account of these northern inhabitants of Britain. He tells us they were known by the names of Mæatæ and Caledonii; that the Mæates dwelt next the walls, no doubt that of Adrian rebuilt by Severus; for he says that at that time the Romans possessed some more than the half of the island, so he must have looked upon Adrian's wall as the bounds of the empire in Britain. Dio adds that the Caledonii dwelt next the

^(a) Ruffin. Hist. lib. xii. cc. 9, 10.

^(b) Herodian, lib. iii. Dion, lib. lxxvi.

Mæates, by which appears, what often hath been remarked, that the possessions of the Mæats lay betwixt the two walls of Adrian and Antonine. Besides these two names, Dio says these two people had other names of distinction among themselves (such, perhaps, as Ptolemy the geographer had given us account of), but that they were best known by these two of Mæates and Caledonians; he adds, that their countries were full of high hills, marshes, and large plains uncultivated; that their food was venison, wild fruit, and what they got by spoil. He remarks in particular of their customs, that they lived in tents and were extremely hardened to suffer cold, hunger, and toil; that their arms consisted of short spears, dagger, and target; that their horses were of a little size but very swift, and that they were themselves very nimble; that they sometimes used to fight in chariots, and Herodian adds that they used to engrave^(*) on their bodies the figures of several beasts, that they wore no clothes on the parts marked with these figures, that the figures might appear. This description, compared with that which Claudian made of the Picts (*ferro notatos*⁽¹⁾) about one hundred and fifty years afterwards, shows that the Caledonians were the same people with the Picts, but of this elsewhere.

A. D. 209.

Severus being arrived in Britain with a most powerful army, the Caledonians, surprised with this sudden march, and with so great forces, sent deputies to ask peace and offer reparation of damages. But the Emperor, being resolved not to return without a triumph and the surname of Britannic, was deaf to their petitions, and sent back their deputies without answer. And in the meantime he made haste with all the preparations of war, and being resolved to conquer the whole island to the outmost extremities, he passed with his army over the fences and bulwarks which separated the provincials from the northern nations, and entered into Caledonia.

He met there with great difficulty to make passage to his army, being obliged to cut down great woods, to level steep places, to make causeways or highways through the marshes, and bridges over the rivers. He had no opportunity of a set battle, the enemies having retired themselves into the woods, marshes, and stony ground, with all that belonged to them. They did not assemble into a body of army, but baiting the Roman troops with oxen and sheep which they exposed on purpose, the Romans, separating in

(*) *επιζωοει*. Herodian. lib. iii.

(1) ————— "*Ferroque notatas*
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras."

A. D. 209. parties from the army to carry off the prey, were waylaid and cut off by the enemies coming suddenly on them from their retreats. By these excursions and tumultuary fights the Caledonians destroyed greater numbers of the Romans than if they had beat them in a set battle: so that, Dio says, that there perished fifty thousand men of the Roman army in that expedition.

But that did not discourage Severus from marching forward with his army to the extremities of the island. There he observed the course of the sun and the great inequality of nights and days in winter and summer in those northern climates, by which it would appear that he spent at least six months in this expedition; so that his return to the Roman province could be no sooner than the following year, 210. After he had gone through all Caledonia to the extremities of Britain, he obliged the enemies to make a disadvantageous peace with him, with a loss of a part of the territories they had possessed themselves of, but this treaty lasted not long. The Caledonians, joined with the Mæates, were soon in condition to take back all they had lost, as we shall shortly see.

XIII. Meantime Severus being returned, after his northern expedition to York, in order to secure the Roman provinces in Britain for the future against the attempts of the northern nations, caused build a stately wall from sea to sea through the island. This wall Spartian calls the greatest ornament of his reign, "*maximum^(a) imperii ejus decus*;" it was fortified from place to place with castles, and was situate in the place where Adrian built his wall betwixt Tyne and Carlisle upon Eden, as we have endeavoured to show at length elsewhere.^(b)

Whilst the wall was a-building and the emperor at York at a distance, the Caledonians first, and then the Mæates, broke the peace and invaded the territories they had been forced to abandon, upon which Severus resolved upon another expedition against them, and commanded^(c) the greatest severity and cruelty to be used towards them. But whilst he was making his preparations for this new war, he fell sick and died at York, A. D. 211. His eldest son, Antonine Caracalla, minding much more to settle himself in the empire than to follow out his father's designs and revenge his quarrels, made peace anew with the Caledonians, and soon after made haste

^(a) Spartian. in Severo. [c. xviii.]

^(b) Crit. Essay, p. 13, &c.

^(c) Dion, lib. lxxvi. c. 16.

to get to Rome. By his retreat, if not by the treaty he made with them, the Caledonians and *Maets* remained masters of the debateable territories betwixt the walls, having repossessed what Severus had taken from them. A. D. 211.

XIV. We have no further account, during the most of this century, of these northern unconquered nations of Britain; but it appears by the account Dio^(a) gives, about the year 230, of the disposition of the Roman legions, that these northern nations appeared to the Romans as formidable to the empire as any of the most powerful nations that bordered upon it; and that notwithstanding the strong wall built in Northumberland, the Romans were obliged to keep on that frontier, as great military forces as they did upon their frontiers, against the most warlike and powerful nations that lay around it. For Dio remarks that at this time under the emperor Alexander, when he was writing his history, there were two legions kept upon the borders to defend the provincial Britons against the northern nations, whereas one legion alone was thought sufficient to keep in awe all the rest of the Britons; and the most that the Romans kept against the Parthians, the Germans, and the other warlike nations, was two legions on each frontier, and in many places but one, as in the Gauls, in Spain, &c.

Dioclesian, created emperor A. D. 284, became, the year following, by the defeat and death of Carinus, peaceable possessor of all the empire, and applied himself to repress all its foreign enemies, among others, by the title of *Britannic* given him, it would seem that he had obtained, no doubt by his lieutenants, some advantage over the northern inhabitants of the island. Soon after, Dioclesian associated Maximian Herculus to the empire. It was by Maximian, that Carausius, by birth a Fleming, and skilled in navigation, was placed commander of the coasts, against the invasions of the Saxons and Franks who used to infest the seas and plunder the coasts of the Roman provinces. But Carausius becoming suspected to Maximian, to secure himself, revolted against him, and usurped the empire in Britain, and became so powerful that Maximian, after useless efforts to repress him, was forced at last to abandon Britain to him, A. D. 289, where he reigned seven years. The interpolator of Nennius^(b) history writes, that Carausius fortified anew the Roman wall in Britain with seven towers against the northern nations; but whether this was the wall of Severus in Northumberland, as by the dimensions that Nennius, and even the interpolator

^(a) Dion, lib. lv. c. 23.

^(b) Nennius, c. xix.

A. D. 289. himself gives of it, would appear; or the northern wall betwixt the friths, as this interpolator by his description of it gives us to understand; nothing can be determined from a writer who so visibly contradicts himself, besides that the fact in itself is very dubious, having no other voucher for it but such an uncertain and unskilled author as this interpolator seems all over to have been.

However, about this time, the empire being attacked on all sides, the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian, to fortify themselves against so many foreign enemies, against whom they were not able themselves to march in person, thought fit to raise Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus, to the dignity of Cæsars, A. D. 292. Thus the administration of the empire being divided among these four princes, Constantius had for his share the Gauls and Britain assigned him, with commission to march against Carausius, who continued still in his usurpation. But whilst Constantius was preparing a fleet and forces to attack him, Carausius was killed by Allectus, who succeeded him in his usurpation of the empire in Britain, and enjoyed it about three years, till A. D. 296, that being pursued by Constantius, he was killed in battle by the prefect Asclepiodotus. And thus the Roman provinces in Britain were all reunited to the empire.

XV. Eumenius the orator relating the year following, 297, the reduction of Britain by Constantius, in a panegyric he pronounced in his honour at Autun in the Gauls, compares this expedition of Constantius into Britain with the exploits of Julius Cæsar against the Britons, and extols those of Constantius beyond those of Julius Cæsar, for this reason among others, because, says he, the Britons^(a) being in Cæsar's time as yet unexperienced in warlike discipline, accustomed only to fight with the Picts and Hibernians, people half-naked, did easily yield to the Roman valour; whereas in Constantius' time, the Britons having been long trained up in military discipline under the Romans, the victory over them was more difficult, and, by consequence, more glorious.

To pass by and leave to the grammarians and others the discussion of the words "*soli Britanni*," which our Buchanan among others hath canvassed thoroughly; this passage shows, at least, that in Eumenius' opinion, an author of the third age, the Picts, who are mentioned here, for the first

^(a) *Ad hoc natio tunc rudis, et soli Britanni Pietis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cedere.* Eumen. paneg. ix. c. 9.

time we hear of them by that name, were believed to have been the most ancient inhabitants of the north of Britain, and before Julius Cæsar's time, and by consequence the same people so well known in the two former ages by the name of Caledonians; and this testimony of Eumenius, for the antiquity of the Picts or Caledonians in Britain, is so much the more weighty, that he himself lived at Autun in the Gauls, where, as a place at that time of great resort for learning, they had the best accounts of the neighbouring nations, and that he pronounced this panegyric in presence of Constantius himself and of his officers lately returned from an expedition in Britain. A. D. 297.

Now that the Caledonians were the same as the Picts, we have already seen that Herodian, describing them, tells us they used to engrave on their skin several sorts of figures, which is plainly the Picts, as Claudian afterwards describes them by their name of Picts. Nothing can be more express than the same Eumenius in another panegyric he made about ten years after this, in the presence of Constantine the Great. There, speaking of the death of this Constantius, father to Constantine, he says that Constantius, being invited to the society of the gods, thought it below him to make any more conquests on earth; he deigned not, says the orator, to acquire the woods and marshes of the "Caledonians and other Picts," no, nor Ireland that lay next to them, nor the Fortunate Islands, &c.

But we have treated this matter at full length elsewhere,^(*) and shown the occasion and origin of the new name of Picts, it having been at first given to all the unconquered nations of the north of Britain, and of its being appropriated at last to the ancient people of the Caledonians, with whom, as the most powerful and famous among them, all the rest of the unconquered ancient inhabitants of the north united for the preservation of their liberty. But at this time there being others among them besides the Caledonians, that still retained the ancient British custom of painting or marking themselves, Eumenius' expression "*Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum*" is exact and conformable to the manners of that people in his time, as if he had said, besides the Caledonians there are other people painted or figured in the north of Britain.

From this follows, that all that hath hitherto been related of the Caledonians, and other unconquered people of the north of Britain, their wars

(*) Crit. Essay, pp. 42—72.

A. D. 297. — against the Romans and provincial Britons, belongs properly to the history of the Picts; and by this also, and by what we have elsewhere set down at more length, appears how groundless are the reasonings of those modern critics, who pretend that the Picts were not settled in Britain till the third or fourth age, because they are not till then mentioned by the name of Picts.

XVI. But to return to the history. The persecution of the Christians which had made many martyrs in the Gauls and other parts of the empire, from the beginning of Dioclesian and Maximian's reign, broke out with incomparable more fury, and extended to all the Roman provinces, by the imperial edict, published at Nicomedia, A. D. 303. This persecution reached also the Roman provinces in Britain. For though Constantius, who was averse to the persecution of Christians, had the government of Britain in his share, yet, having as yet no more than the dignity of Cæsar, he was still under the jurisdiction of the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian, and obliged to execute, or at least not to stop, the execution of their edicts. Among^(a) those that suffered in the British provinces, S. Alban of Verulam, and Julius and Aaron of Caerleon, were the chief. Gildas adds that many other Christians were put to death in Britain with diversity of sufferings, that those who escaped the fury of the persecutors retired to woods and deserts and hid themselves in caves, and many more, no doubt, fled out of the bounds of the empire to be out of the reach of the persecutors, by which the number of Christians in the north of Britain must have been considerably augmented, and their zeal animated by the example of so many whom they beheld abandoning all, and reducing themselves to the greatest straits to preserve the precious treasure of Faith.

This persecution lasted in Britain but about two years. for A. D. 305, Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the empire, upon which Galerius and Constantius were declared Augusti, or emperors, and governed by a division independently each of another; and the western provinces, Spain, Gauls, and Britain, falling to Constantius' share, the persecution ceased, and the Christians were undisturbed in those parts.

XVII. The following year, 306, Constantius went over himself to Britain with a resolution to make war upon the Caledonians and other Picts. He was joined at his passage by his son Constantine, and after he had gained a

^(a) Gildas, c. viii. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 7

victory over the Picts, he died at York, where his son was immediately proclaimed emperor by the soldiers in Britain: and soon after Constantine hasted over to the Gauls, but was not owned emperor by Galerius Maximian, till he was forced to it, A. D. 308. A. D. 308.

Thus Constantine, being firmly settled in the empire, took care, in the first place, of the tranquillity of those parts where he had been first proclaimed emperor; and, as Lactantius^(a) says, the first thing he did was to secure full liberty to the Christians, by which was more fully verified what Gildas^(b) and Bede relate of the good effects of the cessation of the persecution in Britain; that the Christians repaired their churches which had been ruined, and that they founded and erected new ones to the memory of the holy Martyrs, as trophies of their victory, kept the solemn festivals, and celebrated the sacred Mysteries in their usual manner; and from this time we may date the flourishing state of the Church in Britain, which hitherto must have laboured under great difficulties, the governors of the provinces before Constantius, and the generality of the people being set against the Christians.

XVIII. One of the first proofs we meet with of the settled condition of the British Churches, is the number of bishops that were sent from Britain^(c) to the Council of Arles, A. D. 314. There, among others, we find three bishops of Britain subscribing to it, Eborius, bishop of York (which about these times^(d) is thought to have enjoyed the primacy among all the British bishops, as being the ordinary residence of the emperor when in the island, and of the prefect of Britain), Restitutius, bishop of London, and Adelfius, qualified de Civ. Colon. London. There were, no doubt, many more bishops in Britain at this time, but in a cause such as was that treated in the Council of Arles, it was enough to send one bishop out of each province in name of the rest; and it is known that the Roman part of Britain at this time consisted only of three provinces. So also in the following Councils there is ground to believe that there were British bishops present at the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, and at that of Sardica, A. D. 347, and Sulpitius Severus,^(e) a contemporary, assures us there were bishops from Britain present at the Council of Rimini, 359.

(a) Lactant. de Mortib. Persecutor.

(b) Gildas, c. viii. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 8.

(c) Concil. Gen. edit. Labbe. tom. i. col. 1430.

(d) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 52.

(e) Sulpit. Sever. Hist. [lib. ii. c. 55.]

A. D. 359.

XIX. By this it is evident that Episcopal government was equally established in the Church of Britain in the first ages as in all other Christian Churches. And since the knowledge and doctrine of Christianity was derived to the northern parts of Britain from those of the south, there can be no rational doubt made but the same kind of church government that was in use in the south of Britain was equally delivered to the Britons of the north, with the rest of the doctrines and practices of Christianity, as being that form of government which had been established by Christ and his Apostles, and that it was received and established among the northern Britons in proportion as Christianity itself was settled and extended, and in that manner, and as far as that martial people were susceptible of Ecclesiastical polity.

It is not unlike that both the doctrine and discipline of Christianity made considerable progress among them in the reign of Constantine the Great, since during all that time we find no account in the Roman writers of any invasion made by the Caledonians or Picts on the Roman provinces, nor of any expedition of the Romans against them, except that perhaps the expedition^(a) that Constantine made in Britain about the year 310, may have been to repress some new motion of theirs.

His son Constans, as appears by Ammian,^(b) made another expedition to Britain against the same northern nations about the year 343, but that part of Ammian where he had given the particular relation of that war is lost.

XX. Towards the end of the reign of Constantius. A. D. 360, the same author^(c) informs us that in Britain the Scots and Picts, two fierce people, having broken the peace, were making havoc of the bordering provinces of the empire; so that the provincials, mindful of the former invasions and ravages of these enemies, were all struck with dread and terror. These news coming to the Cæsar Julian, who was then at Paris, put him in great solicitude and doubt what resolution to take; for he durst not go over in person to the assistance of the Britons, as the emperor Constans had done some years before, as we have seen, for fear of leaving the Gauls destitute of a governor whilst they were threatened with invasion and war from the

(a) Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. i. c. 25.

(b) Ammian. lib. xx. c. 1.

(c) Cum in Britannia Scotorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursu, rupta quiete conflicti, loca limitibus vicina vastarentur, et implicabat formido vicinas provincias, præteritarum cladum congerie fessas. Ammian. lib. xx. c. 1.

Germans. Julian therefore sent Lupicinus, one of his generals, with new forces to the Britons against the northern nations. But Lupicinus, upon suspicion, was soon recalled; and Julian himself revolting about the same time against the emperor Constantius his uncle, and being more intent upon securing his title to the empire than about defending the bounds of it, the Scots and Picts were left at full liberty to continue their incursions on the Britons, and overrun the Roman provinces for some years. A. D. 360.

XXI. This being the first time, as we have seen elsewhere,^(a) that the name of Scots is mentioned in authentic history, before we proceed to the series of Ammian's relation of the Picts and Scots' inroads in the Roman provinces in Britain, it is of importance, towards setting in a better light the following part of the history, to repeat here in short what hath been said in the first part of this Essay, concerning the first entry and settlement of the Scots in Britain.

Having in that first part shown, at least with great probability, that the coming in and first settlement of the Scots, even to Ireland, cannot be placed higher than about or after the times of the Incarnation, it follows in course that their first entry to, and settlement in Britain, must be yet posterior to that, since it is generally agreed that it was from Ireland, that they came in immediately to the north of Britain, whereof the Caledonians or Picts were the most ancient known inhabitants. Venerable Bede^(b) leaves it uncertain whether it was by force or favour that the Scots at first settled among the Picts. [Scoti] "duce Reuda de Hibernia egressi vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos [Pictos] sedes quas hactenus habent vindicarunt." Bede adds, that the Scots, on their coming to Britain, settled on the north side of the frith of Clyde, which had been of old the boundary of the Britons and Picts in that western part of Britain. Bede informs us also upon this occasion that the Scots in Britain were as yet, in his time, called Dalreudini; and long after Bede, a writer^(c) of the eleventh or twelfth age, calls the kingdom of the Scots in Britain, before their union with the Picts, Regnum Dalrietæ, the kingdom of Dalrede. The Irish give, at length, an account of the origin of this name Dalrieda, which they derive from Eocha or Carbre Rieda, as may be seen in their writers.^(d) I shall only observe.

^(a) Crit. Essay, p. 643.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1.

^(c) Crit. Essay, app. iii. p. 783.

^(d) Ussher. Ant. Brit. pp. 320, 321.

A. D. 360.

that in the best copies of the ancient genealogy of the kings of Scots, we find one Eocha or Eedach Riada or Rieta,^(a) son of Conar, in the thirteenth generation or degree, before Erc, father to Fergus, commonly called Fergus II. And these thirteen generations or descents, in the ordinary computation (allowing thirty years to each descent,) would amount to more than three hundred years before this Fergus, son of Erc; so that if this Eocha Riada be the same with Beda's Reuda, first leader of the Scots into Britain (as English and Irish writers affirm him to be), the placing him, with the old genealogy, thirteen generations before Fergus, son of Erc (who lived in the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth age), would advance the epoch of the Scots' first coming into Britain till about the beginning of the third age, which would agree well enough with the first mention that Ammian makes of the Scots in Britain about the year 360; since it cannot be doubted but they were come into that island some time, before they could make such a figure as to be taken notice of with the Picts as dangerous enemies of the empire, by so judicious a writer as Ammian. And even Ammian himself, though he doth not mention the Scots in his history till the inroads that the Picts and they made into the Roman provinces, A. D. 360, yet, in the short account he gives of them for the first time on that occasion, he gives us clearly to understand that it was not the first time that the Scots, in conjunction with the Picts, had ravaged the British provinces, where, he says, the provincials were so much more discouraged by these new invasions of the Picts and Scots, that they were already quite spent and wearied with their former incursions and ravages; ^(b) "*Præteritarum cladum congerie fessas*" (provincias).

We have showed elsewhere^(c) that the Scots in Britain had not proper kings of their own nation till Fergus, son of Erc, in the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. Till that time, and for some time afterwards perhaps, they had still looked upon themselves as one people with the Scots in Ireland, who continued after their first entry to Britain to flock in to them yearly in great numbers, and to assist the Caledonians or Picts in their expeditions against the Romans and Britons. But though in these expeditions the Scots went generally with the Caledonians, yet it is like

^(a) Crit. Essay, General Table, p. 235.

^(b) Ammian. lib. xx. c. 1.

^(c) Crit. Essay, pp. 666-689.

they had also chieftains of their own nation, even before they had kings in Britain proper to themselves. A. D. 360.

XXII. After this short, but necessary digression, on the Scots' first appearance in Britain, to return to the history, we have seen that, in the year 360, the irruption of the Picts and Scots, and their devastation of the Roman provinces had been overlooked by the Cæsar Julian aspiring to the empire; and we do not find that, when he had attained it, during his short reign, any stop was put to their incursions, nor during that of Jovian. So it is no wonder that, upon Valentinian I. coming to the empire, A. D. 364, among other Roman provinces invaded by the barbarous nations in their neighbourhood, he found those of Britain ravaged not only by the Picts and Scots, but that the example of their impunity had drawn in also upon the Britons other new^(a) enemies, to wit, the Saxons and the Attacotti. What the Saxons were is well known, and we shall hear enough of them in the sequel of this history. The Attacotti were, according to S. Jerome, a British people. Ammian calls them a warlike nation, "*bellicosa hominum natio.*" Valentinian then finding the empire attacked all at once on so many sides, and not being in condition so soon to send succours to the Britons, the Picts and Scots advanced daily in the British provinces, ravaging all as they marched, carrying off captives, and reducing the Britons to the greatest extremities.

XXIII. Their^(b) numbers and boldness increasing daily, they killed Follafaudus, the Roman general, and Nectarides, count of the maritime coasts. An account of all this being brought to the emperor Valentinian, so alarmed him, that he dispatched immediately over to Britain, first, Severus, count of the domestics, whom he soon called back, and sent over the general Jovinus, and caused quickly convey provisions and all things necessary for a powerful army. At last, the emperor receiving daily more frightful accounts of the progress of the enemies in Britain, thought fit to confide the management of that war to one of the most famous generals of the empire, Theodosius, father to the first emperor of that name. Him, therefore, he sent over to Britain, and with him new and more considerable forces.

Ammian^(c) informs us on this occasion, that in one of the former books

^(a) *Picti Saxonisque et Scoti et Attacotti Britannos ærumnis vexavere innumeris.*
Ammian. lib. xxvi. c. 4.

^(b) Ammian. lib. xxvii. c. 8.

^(c) Ammian. lib. xxvii.

A. D. 367. of his history he had given a description of Britain, but this book is lost. which might have given great light into the origins of several of the different inhabitants of the island. He only tells us here that those who overrun the provinces of Britain at this time were the Picts, divided into two people, the Dycaledones and the Vecturiones (of whom we have spoken elsewhere),^(a) the Attacotti, a warlike nation, and the Scots, who, all dispersing their forces in different bodies up and down the country, did abundance of mischief to the provincials

Theodosius, being arrived in Britain, divided also his army into several bodies, and at first, passing by London, marched with expedition towards the enemies, who being surprised unawares, and loaden with booty, he forced them to retreat in haste, and abandon their prey, which he caused restore to the owners, reserving only a share of it, to be distributed among his soldiers. And having thus in a short time delivered the city of London of the fears and difficulties it lay under from the enemies, he made his entry into it as in triumph. And having informed himself of the state and forces of the enemies, he found the only sure means to defeat them was to draw them into ambushes, and by frequent and sudden incursions on them to surprise them unawares. By all which it appears, that the Picts and Scots had, before his arrival in the island, penetrated into the heart of Britain, put London in terror and reduced it to straits, and that they appeared so powerful to so valiant and experienced a general at the head of so great an army, composed of the choice of the Roman legions, that he thought it not advisable to hazard an open battle against them, but was forced to make use^(b) of stratagems and sudden onsets to get the Roman provinces rid of them.

XXIV. Theodosius having by those means defeated and put to flight all these enemies of the empire, made it his next care to restore the cities and garrisons, and having forced the Picts and their auxiliaries not only out of the British provinces, but out of all that debateable tract of ground that lay betwixt the southern and northern walls, whereof they had possessed themselves^(c) as a part of their property, he pursued them over the friths of Clyde and Forth. This expedition of Theodosius against the Picts

^(a) Crit. Essay, p. 82.

^(b) Nonnisi per dolos occultiores et improvisos incursus superari posse. Ammian. lib. xxvii. c. 8.

^(c) Quæ in ditonem hostium concesserat. Ammian. lib. xxviii. c. 3.

and Scots is expressed in one word by the orator Pacatus,^(a) where he says that this general reduced the Scots to their marshes, including the Picts and Scots under one name, and designing the country, whither they were pursued, by the name of Marshes, which agrees perfectly with the description that Dio^(b) and Herodian give of Caledonia, the ancient country of the Picts or Caledonians, where the Scots had also begun to make an establishment. The poet Claudian, in two of his panegyrics, is somewhat more large on this expedition. In the first,^(c) on occasion of the third consulship of the emperor Honorius, A. D. 397, speaking of this general Theodosius, grandfather to that emperor, he expresses himself thus:—

A. D. 367.

*Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotamque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.*

And in another^(d) poem, the year following, he expresses this expedition of Theodosius in these few words:—

*Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
.....Incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule:
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*

These expressions would seem at first to import that this Roman general had chased the Scots over sea to Ireland and pitched his camp in Caledonia; but we are not to press poetical hyperboles to the rigour of the letter, otherwise we must suppose that Theodosius pursued the Picts to Thule, and there made a great slaughter of them, whereas it is like that neither Claudian nor the Romans knew where Thule stood, and its situation is still under debate. However, as to the Scots, I do not pretend that they were by this time so well settled in the north of Britain that they never used in whole or in great part to return to Ireland. It appears to me more likely that the Scots, at their coming from Ireland, having first planted themselves in the neighbouring islands betwixt the north of Britain and Ireland, and made other settlements by degrees in Cantyre, in Argyle, Lorn, and in the other western coasts of the north of Britain, by force, or by

^(a) *Relatum ad paludes suas Scotum.* Lat. Pacat. paneg. xi. c. 5.

^(b) *Dion, in Sever.* Herodian. lib. iii.

^(c) *Claudian. Paneg. in III Cons. Honor.*

^(d) *Claudian. Paneg. in IV Cons. Honor.*

A. D. 367. favour of the Picts, continued still to live in a close union with the Scots in Ireland, as being one and the same people, coming over in greater or smaller numbers from Ireland to Britain, as occasion offered, either to enlarge their possessions, and some of them as auxiliaries to go in conjunction with the Picts in their expeditions or inroads into the Roman provinces, and that in case of any great defeat, as it happened here, and a hot pursuit by the Roman forces, the military men of the Scots had always safe retreat into the isles, or even into Ireland, till the storm blowing over, and the enemies retired, they might safely return thence back to their habitation in the north of Britain, ready for a new expedition against the provincials as a favourable opportunity presented itself. And I cannot but observe here, that there is great appearance that this expedition of Theodosius, followed by the total defeat of the Picts and Scots, and his forcing the Picts out of their old possessions betwixt the walls, and, according to the rigour of the letter of Claudian's expression, his forcing back the Scots to Ireland; there is great appearance, I say, that this general defeat hath given the first rise to the story delivered by Fordun of a total dissolution of the Scots monarchy in Britain, which he supposes had been founded three hundred years before Christ, and lasted till towards the end of this fourth age, when it was destroyed, says Fordun, together with that of the Picts, not by this Theodosius, but by Maximus, who usurped the empire, A. D. 383. But besides that we have shown, in the first part of this Essay, that there is no solid ground for a Scottish monarchy in Britain in the times either of Theodosius or Maximus, it is, in the first place, more consistent with Fordun's own chronology to attribute this defeat of the Scots and Picts in this fourth age by a Roman general, to Theodosius than to Maximus. Secondly, we shall show, in its proper ^(*) place, that this story of Fordun cannot agree to the times of Maximus, nor to the circumstances of his affairs.

.XXV. However that be, it is certain that Theodosius, after having given this great overthrow to the Picts and Scots, and pursued them beyond the northern wall betwixt the friths, fortified anew this wall, made it again the boundary of the empire, as it had been settled about two hundred and thirty years before under the emperor Antonine. But what is chiefly to be remarked is, that the general Theodosius, by the emperor Valentinian's

(*) *Infra*, XXX.

order, erected into a new province all the debateable ground, which was formerly inhabited by the Mæats, from the wall in Northumberland to the wall betwixt the friths, and gave it the name of Valentia, and thus added a fifth province in Britain to the four that were before; and in order to defend this new province from the incursions of the Picts and Scots, the Roman general settled strong garrisons^(a) at this northern wall, formerly built by Antonine's order, and having thus extended anew the bounds of the empire to the friths, and settled peace and order in the British provinces, he returned with triumph to the emperor.

A. D. 369.

But all the precautions he had taken against the northern nations did not hinder the Picts from seeking all opportunities to attack, and, at last, recover their ancient possessions in this new erected province, which they looked on as a part of their property. However, they lay quiet for a season; at least, we have no account of any new motion in these provinces till towards the usurpation of Maximus.

XXVI. Meantime, this reduction of the debateable lands betwixt the walls (which contain now the southern parts of Scotland) into a regular province of the empire by Theodosius, and his establishing among the inhabitants the Roman discipline and polity, was attended with a new advantage, towards settling on a more lasting foot, among the Christians in those parts, that order and apostolical form of government universally practised in all other Christian countries from their first conversion, especially within the bounds of the empire. We have seen^(b) that the light of the Gospel had been early derived from the provincial Britons of the south to these inhabitants of the northern parts of the island betwixt the walls, and with the other doctrines and points of the discipline of Christianity, they could convey no other form of church government to these new Christians of the north, but what was in use among themselves in the south; and it cannot be doubted of, with any probable ground, but that the Christians in the north, knowing no other but what they had received with the elements of Christianity, practised the same discipline, as well in point of church government as in all others, as far as the almost perpetual wars they were engaged in could admit of. But whereas hitherto we have met with no certain account of any one by name of their first apostles and pastors, or of those that succeeded them, nor with any distinct account of

^(a) Theodosius limites vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis. Ammian. lib. xxviii. c. 3.

^(b) Supra, VI. X.

A. D. 369.

the progress of Christianity among these northern inhabitants, no sooner are they incorporated in the empire, by the erection of all betwixt the walls into a Roman province, and the same form and polity established among them as in the other provinces, but we begin to have a more distinct account of the progress both of the doctrines and discipline of Christianity among them, and the names of some of the chief instruments that Divine Providence made use of towards procuring to them that happiness. The first whose name we have on record is the great S. Ninian (called by the vulgar S. Ringan), the apostle and first bishop of the southern Picts or Caledonians. No doubt there were others before him among the British inhabitants betwixt the walls, since we will see by his life that they were generally all Christians, princes and people, before his time. But if anything hath been recorded of the first bishops or other pastors of those parts, and of their successors, it hath been destroyed by the frequent wars and devastations of those debateable lands, which so often changed masters. And we might have remained in ignorance of S. Ninian, had not Venerable Bede^(a) recorded in his history the name and character of this holy bishop, and a short account of his life and labours, which gave occasion to S. Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, in the twelfth age, to write his life at large from such monuments as remained of it in his time.

XXVII. Before I enter into the detail of S. Ninian's life, I cannot but desire the reader to observe, on occasion of this holy bishop, the unaccountable confidence with which the Presbyterian writers, especially in Scotland, in order to justify their new plan of church government set up at the Reformation (which was begun and carried on by mere laymen, or at most, by simple presbyters), have endeavoured to obtrude on our countrymen a fabulous scheme of a primitive church government in Scotland by presbyters and monks, without either episcopal authority or ordination, as Blondel and others, their brethren in foreign parts, have endeavoured to improve this invention and impose it upon the Christian world abroad; and all this upon no better ground originally than that of one only passage of John Fordun, a writer of the latter end of the fourteenth age. Whilst we have at the same time certain accounts, both from monuments of history before Fordun, and from Fordun himself, of S. Ninian, S. Patrick, S. Palladius, S. Servanus, S. Ternan, S. Kentigern or Mungo, all of them bishops, and all either

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

natives of the northern parts of Britain, or Scotland, or exercising there the Episcopal authority and functions, before there is mention so much as of the name of any one presbyter or monk exercising the function of preacher, doctor, or minister of the Word and Sacraments in our country. But of this famous passage of Fordun we shall have more occasion to speak in its proper place; it suffices to have marked here that the first preachers of the Gospel, or ministers of the Word and Sacraments in Scotland, whose names we have account of, were all bishops.

A. D. 369.

XXVIII. To return to S. Ninian's life, written by S. Ailred. Thus the life begins: S. Ninian, says Ailred,^(a) was born in that country of the north western part of Britain, where the ocean, as it were, stretching forth its arms, and forming on each side an angle, divides Scotland from England. This is clearly Galloway, in its old extent. And what the author adds, that this country, even to later times, had a king of its own; as we are informed, says he, not only by history,^(b) but even from the memory of some yet alive; this, from a writer of the twelfth age, confirms what we have said elsewhere of the kingdom of the Britons in the west of Scotland subsisting till the tenth or eleventh age.

The Saint was born of Christian parents. His father was king or prince of that country. So it is like he was born before the expedition of the General Theodosius, who erected that country, as we have seen, into a Roman province, by the name of Valentia, A. D. 369. Modern writers^(c) place his birth about the year 360. Whilst Ninian was as yet a child, he showed great devotion^(d) to churches (by which it appears, at least, in Ailred's judgment, that this country was then generally all Christian, since there were in it churches set up). Ninian was sober in diet, says Ailred, sparing words, applied to reading and studies, grave in his behaviour, vigilant to subject the flesh to the spirit. At last, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, despising riches and all human grandeur, and renouncing all

^(a) Vita S. Niniani, per Ailredum, abbatem Rievall. [Vita Antiquæ Sanctorum in Scotia; vita Niniani, c. i.]

^(b) (Ninianus ortus in ea Britanniae insulae regione) quæ in occidentis insulae partibus, ubi oceanus, quasi brachium porrigens, et ex utraque parte quasi duos angulos faciens, Scottorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit, constituta, quæ usque ad novissimam Anglorum tempora proprium habuisse regem, non solum historiarum fide, sed et quorundam memoria comprobatur. Pater ejus rex fuit, religione Christianus, &c. Ailred. ibid. [Vita Niniani, c. i.]

^(c) Ussher, Ant. Brit. Chron. A. D. 360.

^(d) Mira illi circa ecclesias devotio erat. Ailred. ibid. [Vita Niniani, c. i.]

A. D. 369. carnal affections, this noble youth resolved to go abroad for his spiritual improvement. Having, therefore, passed over the sea, he travelled through the Gauls and Italy to Rome, and there addressed himself to the Pope (who, it is like, at that time, was Damasus, a person of great sanctity and learning), and having exposed to him the motives of his journey, the Pope, commending his devotion, received him with a fatherly tenderness, and committed him to the care of masters fit to instruct him in the Holy Scriptures, and in the doctrine and discipline of the Church. The pious youth applied himself with great avidity to the study of the Word of God, and of the holy fathers, laying up in his heart treasures of Christian verities for the nourishment of his own interior man, and in due time fit to be poured out for the spiritual comfort and instruction of others. Thus, being chaste in body, and prudent in mind, provident in counsels, and circumspect in all his actions, he gained the commendation of all, and became daily more in favour with the supreme bishop, says Ailred.

XXIX. Whilst Almighty God, in the order of his providence, was thus preparing at Rome S. Ninian for the apostolical function of the conversion of the southern Picts, he was about the same time fitting out, among the natives of the same country of the north of Britain or Scotland, another vessel of election to be the apostle of the neighbouring island. For it was about this time, when the Romans, by the erection of the new province of Valentia, were in possession of all betwixt the walls, from Northumberland to the friths, that the holy bishop, S. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, was born, A. D. 377, upon the confines of this Roman province, at Kilpatrick, near Alclud, or Dunbritton, in the north of Britain, as all the learnedest among the Irish, as well as other foreign writers, do now agree.^(a) His episcopal character, his quality of Apostle of Ireland, his labours in propagating the Gospel, his zeal and eminent sanctity of life, all this in general appears certain beyond any rational doubt. But as to the precise year of his birth, or that of his death, and indeed as to the chronology of his life and detail of his actions, it appears almost impossible to distinguish what is

^(a) Ussher, *Ant. Brit.* pp. 426, 427, &c. Ware, *Script. Hibern.* p. 101. Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturg.* p. 223, &c. Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 391. Cave, *Script. Ecclesiast.* p. 271. edit. Colon. A. D. 1720. *Act. Sanctor.* Bolland. ad 17 Martii. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. i. p. 207. Tillemont, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xvi. p. 455. Baillet, *Vie des Saints*, an 17 Mars, &c. [See, on the other hand, Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, volume first, chapter third, for the arguments in favour of Boulogne-sur-mer being the birth-place of S. Patrick.]

certain from what is dubious, notwithstanding the large and learned dissertations that Ussher, Bollandus, and others, have written upon the subject. And the great number of lives, by different authors, collected by Colgan and others, seem to some of the learned writers of later times rather to embroil the history of this Saint, and perplex the reader, than to contribute to any distinct account of his life and actions.

A. D. 377.

But the honour our country hath by S. Patrick's being a native of it, and more yet, the obligations that the Scots even of Britain owe to him and his disciples, for the establishment and propagation of Christianity, as well among the Scots of Britain as among the Irish, renders it a duty on whoever undertakes the ecclesiastical part of the history of the north of Britain or Scotland, to give some account of what appears most assured of this holy bishop.

Among the various monuments of his history, nothing appears to me a more proper voucher, and more assured foundation to go upon, than the short writing commonly called his Confession, which is generally esteemed his own work, is quoted by the ancientest authors of his life, and contains an account of him as an apostolical man, incomparably more answerable to that character than any one of his lives, or all of them together: besides that the style of this writing appears to some of the best judges^(a) of ancient pieces to agree well to the times and circumstances of the Saint. We will not meet in this piece, says this learned and judicious^(b) writer, with many miracles, or any long detail of facts, as in the vulgar lives of S. Patrick, but there is enough to support and maintain the great veneration which the Scots and Irish justly have for his memory; and that better, perhaps, than that multitude of stupendous miracles, many of them not very likely or credible, to say no more, that we meet with in the legends published upon his life. There are, indeed, but few miracles marked in his Confession, but, on the other hand, there are several visions in it, and the Saint owns that Almighty God was pleased to manifest sometimes to him in an extraordinary manner what his will was over him. Nor ought it to be wondered at, that in an apostolical undertaking, where he had to overcome oppositions on all hands, friends as well as enemies, Almighty God should inspire and direct, as He had done the Prophets and Apostles, a Saint who resembled them so much in his conduct, and in the success of his ministry.

^(a) Tillemont, Hist. Eccles. tom. xvi. pp. 784, 785.

^(b) Ibid. p. 455.

A. D. 377.

As to the chronology of his life, than which nothing can be more intricate, the learned continuators of Bollandus's *Saints lives*, have been at great pains to examine and endeavour to settle it, as much as is possible in a dissertation on the subject, which I shall generally follow, referring to the dissertation itself for the proofs and particulars, as also for the detail of his actions, which they have taken from the various writers of his life. And shall content myself with a few more certain and more probable facts taken especially from his *Confession* or *Apology*.

S. Patrick was born, as was said, in the north of Britain or Scotland, at Kilpatrick, near Dunbritton, upon the confines of the new-erected Roman province of Valentia, as we have observed from the consent of all the learnedest writers of all countries; by the quality of his father Calphurnius, a Decurion, it appears he was of a Roman or provincial British extraction, and noble family. God, who had designed him for the laborious work of the conversion of a barbarous nation, whose tongue he understood not, began early to prepare him, by a particular dispensation of his providence, for that undertaking. It hath been elsewhere observed that, besides those Scots that had already begun to settle in Britain, many others of the Scots used in these early times, and continued till they were fully established as a distinguished nation in Britain, to come over immediately from Ireland and join as auxiliaries with the Scots already settled there, and with the Picts, ancient inhabitants of the north of Britain, in their expeditions and inroads into the Roman provinces of that island, whence they were accustomed to carry off with them prey and captives. In one of these inroads, S. Patrick, being then about sixteen years of age, was carried off by these Scots auxiliaries, with many other captives, to Ireland, from the province of Valentia, in the extremities of which he was born.

The holy man acknowledges, with great humility, that this calamity fell upon him and others, his countrymen, for their sins, their forgetting of God, not observing his commands, nor hearkening to the exhortations of their pastors, "*sacerdotibus*^(a) *nostris*" (which, in the style of that age, signifies bishops as well as priests), and by this it appears that there was a formed Christian Church at this time in those parts of Scotland, composed of pastors

^(a) Hiberione (i. e. Hibernia) in captivitate abductus sum cum tot millibus hominum, secundum merita nostra, quia a Deo recessimus, et præcepta ejus non custodivimus, et sacerdotibus nostris non obediētes fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant, &c. *Confess. S. Patricii*, edit. Ware, p. i.

and people. S. Patrick was sold in Ireland to a master, who put him to keep swine in the hills and woods, where he suffered hunger,^(a) cold, and nakedness, exposed to the rain, snow, and frost; he tells that amidst these humiliations and sufferings, God took pity on him, opened the eyes of his soul, touched him with a due sense of his bygone faults, and made him return to God with all his heart; that he recurred to prayer and fasting, and having sought God with all his strength, he found Him, and his faith, the fear and love of God, augmented daily in him, and that during his captivity he gave himself much to prayer, day and night. Amidst these pious exercises and sufferings he acquired the language of the inhabitants, and by that means he was prepared, by Divine Providence, to become one day the Apostle and instructor of that nation.

A. D. 377.

He passed six years in this first captivity, and then was wonderfully delivered, and returned back to his parents in the north of Britain. After some years' travelling abroad, he was again made captive by other enemies, but soon set at freedom, and came^(b) back again to his parents, who used all means to persuade him to abide with them. But being admonished by visions from heaven, that God had made choice of him for the conversion of Ireland, that he would have much to suffer, but that God would support him with his Spirit which prayed in him, he resolved to travel again abroad for his further improvement in piety, and in the knowledge of divine truths.

The writers of his life give large accounts of his several voyages of devotion, into Gaul and Italy, towards the end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth age, before his mission to Ireland. During the course of these voyages, he visited the monasteries and other places most renowned in these times for piety, learning, and regular discipline; such as S. Martin's at Tours, S. Honorat's at Lerins, S. Amator's and S. German's at Auxerre. In each of these he abode some years, and improved himself by the great examples and holy exercises that he met with in these sacred asyles of the true spirit of Christianity, and by the conversation of the great men that governed them, especially of S. German of Auxerre. All this may be found at large in the several writers of his life, and collected in a more regular order by the learned continuators of the Bollandian^(c) Acts. I have here put together this short account of the first part of his life and actions,

(a) Confess. S. Patricii, edit. Ware, p. 6.

(b) Ibid. p. 9.

(c) Act. SS. Bolland. ad 17 Martii.

A. D. 385, that I might not be obliged to interrupt it with the civil transactions of Britain, which were very remarkable in these times.

XXX. And in the first place, A. D. 385, Maximus, being proclaimed by the Roman soldiers in Britain, usurped the empire, and passed over immediately to the Gauls, with all the forces he could make. The Chronicle^(a) published under the title of Tiro Prosper, Gregory of Tours,^(b) and Sigebert, relate that Maximus, before he left Britain, attacked with great vigour and repressed the Picts and Scots, who had made incursions into the Roman provinces. The authority of Sigebert, who it is like copied the two others, was the chief foundation on which our historian Fordun, and his followers, built the story of the dissolution of the monarchy of the Scots in Britain by Maximus; yet, according to Fordun's own calculation, this dissolution must have happened about the year 360, when Maximus was as yet a private man, for he says^(c) their exile out of Britain lasted forty or forty-three years; and he places their restoration A. D. 403, so this defeat of the Scots, if true, would agree much better, (as we observed^(d) already,) to the General Theodosius, than to Maximus. Besides that, Severus^(e) Sulpitius, Zosimus,^(f) and other writers near the time, make no mention of Maximus, his gaining any victory in Britain, or making any war, nor so much as of his having had any command, till he usurped the empire; and they add, that upon his usurpation and revolt, he immediately passed over to the Gauls, and that so suddenly, that he surprised the emperor Gratian unprepared, and being therefore abandoned by his soldiers, was killed at Lyons. All which seems to leave no room for Maximus losing any time before he left Britain, to march against the Picts and Scots.

But we have seen elsewhere^(g) that the whole story of a dissolution and restoration of a Scots Monarchy in Britain in Maximus' time is a mere invention, chiefly perhaps devised to elude the force of the proofs drawn against Fordun's system, from the remains of our ancient chronicles written before their destruction or dissipation by King Edward I., in all which remains, Fergus, son of Erc, is called the first king of the Scots in Britain, which at once, ruining all Fordun's additions to the fabric of the high antiquities of Scotland, begun before his time, he was under a necessity to find out this and such other machines to support them.

^(a) Tir. Prosper, Chron. apud Canis.

^(b) Greg. Turon. Hist. Sigebert, Chron.

^(c) Fordun, edit. Hearne, lib. ii. c. 45.

^(d) Supra, XXIV.

^(e) Sever. Sulpit. Hist. Eccles.

^(f) Zosim. Hist.

^(g) Crit. Essay, pp. 744, 745, &c.

However Maximus having carried over with him to the Gauls, as Gildas^(a) relates, the flower of the British youth, gave a fair opportunity to the Scots to extend their habitations in the north of Britain, and to the Picts to return and possess themselves anew of their ancient conquests in the province of Valentia; which Divine Providence made use of towards the propagating of Christianity among them.

A. D. 385.

XXXI. For it was about these times that S. Ninian^(b) before mentioned having now passed several years at Rome, employed in the exercises of piety, in the study of the Scriptures, and of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and being looked upon as a person of eminent virtue, the Pope also being informed that there was a nation in the north-western part of Britain that had not yet embraced the Christian faith, promoted Ninian to the episcopal degree, and gave him mission to preach the Gospel to that people.

Ninian, in his return from Rome, was moved with an earnest desire to visit the great S. Martin, bishop of Tours, famous for his sanctity and miracles; whereupon he diverted from his journey to that city, where S. Martin received him with great respect, knowing by revelation, says Ailred, that Ninian was extraordinarily sanctified by God, and destined to be the happy instrument of the salvation of many.

This shows that S. Ninian's return to Britain was before the year 397, in which S. Martin died, according to the more common opinion.

S. Ninian having taken leave of S. Martin continued on his journey to Britain, and arrived in Valentia, his own country. His long absence, the report they had heard of his eminent sanctity, and the progress he had made at Rome in the knowledge of divine truths, drew great multitudes of the Christian people of these parts together, to welcome him at his return and receive him with great joy and thanksgiving to God, because they looked on him as a prophet. The holy man, profiting of these marks of esteem and confidence of the people, set himself immediately to reform all abuses that might have crept in among them, and having purged their minds from errors, he instructed them in the duties belonging to good Christians, and by works and examples showed himself a pattern of all virtue and piety, all which he confirmed by frequent miracles. Having thus reduced the ancient Christians of these parts to the knowledge and practice of the obligations of their holy profession, he then proceeded to gain over to it by degrees the

^(a) Gildas, c. ii.

^(b) Vita S. Niniani, [c. li.]

A. D. 398. other inhabitants in their neighbourhood, to wit, the southern Picts. But the progress of the Gospel among these last, was much retarded by the motions they were in, and by those of the Roman troops against them, towards the end of this age, and beginning of the next.

XXXII. For the Picts and Scots had not failed, as we observed, to lay hold of the favourable opportunity that was offered them, by Maximus his carrying over with him to Gaul so many of the regular troops, and of the flower of the British youth; upon which, it appears by the account which Claudian the poet gives in the Panegyric of Stilicho, that by the year 398, the Picts and Scots had made such progress in ravaging the neighbouring provinces of Britain, that they were quite ruined, that they lived in perpetual dread and terror of the Picts; that these were joined by the Scots, not only of Britain, but by new levies of Scots from Ireland; that an account of this miserable state of the British provinces being brought to Stilicho, the Roman general under the emperor Honorius, he sent over new forces to Britain, and having beat out the Picts and Scots from the Roman provinces, he caused fortify anew the northern wall against their irruptions. For thus Claudian brings in Britain, lamenting her perishing condition till Stilicho sent in forces to her succour against the Picts and Scots.

(^a) *Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit, (Britannia)
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, &c.*

But this fortifying the wall by Stilicho, and his placing anew guards and a garrison on the frontiers of Valentia to overawe the Scots and Picts, and protect the British provincials against them, is more fully expressed in another passage of the same poet, where, giving account of the several legions which, by Stilicho's order, came to join him, A. D. 402, against the Goths, before the battle of Pollentum, he thus marks among others the Roman troops that guarded the wall in Britain, against the Scots and Picts;

(^b) *Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis.
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.*

(^a) Claudian. de Laudib. Stilichon. lib. ii.

(^b) Claudian. de bello Getico.

The poet, by an ordinary metaphor, calls the forces that guarded the frontiers of the British provinces a legion, though there needed always more than one legion to oppose those northern enemies. But the description he gives here of the Picts, as having figures imprinted with iron on them, agrees exactly, as we have seen elsewhere,^(a) with the description that Herodian gives of the Caledonians, and proves them clearly to have been the same people under their old name of Caledonians and new name of Picts.

A. D. 402

XXXIII. The most part of the Roman forces being thus removed from the borders, and called over by Stilicho, the Picts and Scots failed not to break through the wall, and enter the province of Valentia, and they had so much the more favourable opportunity to overrun the British provinces, that, besides that the frontiers were in great measure denuded of their wonted garrisons, the rest of the Romans and Provincials in Britain were in great confusion in these times, by placing or displacing new tyrants or usurpers of the empire.

For, A. D. 407, the soldiers^(b) in Britain set up one Marcus for emperor, and soon after put him to death, and in his place created one Gratian, and gave him the ornaments of the empire; but they also soon wearied of him, and after four months' reign killed him, and elected for emperor one Constantine, a common soldier, who had no merit but that of his name. Thus there were no less than four tyrants or usurpers in Britain, including Maximus, in the space of little more than twenty years. This no doubt gave occasion to S. Hierome, writing against Jovinian about the year 412, to call Britain a province^(c) fertile of tyrants; and this shows, as we elsewhere^(d) observed, that the expression "*Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum et Scotiæ gentes*," &c., is not Porphyrius' words, who had no occasion, when he wrote that book against the Christians, to give that character to Britain, but S. Hierome's own, on occasion of so many little tyrants he had seen arise in that island.

Constantine, the last of these usurpers, passed immediately over to Gaul, taking along with him what remained of regular forces in Britain, leaving the Provincials a prey to their enemies, with vain hopes of being succoured, if attacked, but he was no sooner arrived in the Gauls with his forces, than

(a) Supra XII.

(b) Zosim. Hist. lib. vi.

(c) Hieronym. contra Jovinian.

(d) Crit. Essay, p. 514.

A. D. 407. the Picts and Scots, according to their custom, embraced that favourable opportunity, and broke in upon the British provinces. The Britons despairing of obtaining assistance either from Constantine, wholly taken up with securing his title to the empire in Gaul and in Spain, or from the Emperor Honorius, not able to defend even the capital of the empire attacked by Alaric, the Britons, I say, having no more hopes of assistance from the Romans, and being encouraged, says Zosimus,^(a) by letters from Honorius to do the best for themselves, resolved at last to shake off their dependence on the Roman empire and put themselves at liberty, and endeavour to defend with their own forces their country against their enemies. Thus Britain ceased to be a part of the empire A.D. 409, about four hundred and seventy years after Julius Cæsar first entered the island about the year 55 before the Incarnation. The Britons^(b) found in a short time that they had presumed too much on their own forces, and after a struggle of a few years, they saw themselves so overpowered by the Picts and Scots, that they were forced to have a new recourse to the Romans, their old masters; as we will see, after having first considered the progress of Christianity in the north of Britain, by the apostolical labours of S. Ninian.

XXXIV. This holy bishop^(c) had now preached some years to the Picts and other inhabitants of the north of Britain, and propagated the light of the Gospel among them. He made his chief residence in Galloway, his native country, at a place rendered from his time, famous by the church he caused build there, all of cut stone, which it seems was such a rarity among the Britons of those parts, that it gave the name of Candida Casa or white house, vulgarly Whithern, to the town in all after times. This church he dedicated to God, under the title and in memory of S. Martin, and established it the episcopal seat of these parts. Camden guesses this to be the town called by Ptolemy the geographer, Leucopibia, which he thinks is an error of the copyists instead of λευκοικια, which hath the same signification in English, to wit, white houses. But the origin which Bede gives to the name is more natural, and not so far-fetched. To the church that Ninian built, was no doubt joined his monastery or seminary, for such was the custom of all these holy bishops, who planted or promoted the work of the Gospel, in order to have a retreat for themselves amidst their labours,

^(a) Zosim. Hist. lib. vi.

^(b) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12.

^(c) Vita S. Niniani, [c. ii.]

and a proper place for breeding young churchmen to succeed in the sacred ministry.

A. D. 409.

S. Ninian's^(a) preaching was attended with many miracles, which Almighty God wrought by him, in confirmation of the doctrine he taught. Among others, a prince of that country named Tuduvallus, who had been struck with blindness for his opposition to truth, was, upon his repentance, restored to his sight by the prayers of the holy man. S. Ailred marks particularly in his^(b) life that he ordained priests, consecrated bishops, and that he divided the country into different districts, for the more convenient service and instruction of the people. The word *parochia* signified of old as well dioceses as what we now call commonly parishes, which last, by all that I can find, were not generally established, even in the south of Britain, till several ages after this, by Theodore, Bishop of Canterbury.

In those ordinations of bishops and priests, and in the distribution of the country into districts, the holy bishop, in forming this infant church, followed the model and order of canonical discipline which he had been taught from his youth, and seen everywhere practised during his travels through the south of Britain, in the Gauls, and in Italy, and which he knew was the universal practice of the Church in that and all former ages, and in all countries where Christianity was established. And though we had no other authority that this was the discipline and form of government observed among the ancient Christians of the north of Britain or Scotland, from the beginning of Christianity settled among them, or at least, as soon as the disposition of the civil state could allow a fixed and regular discipline to be settled among them; though, I say, we had no other authority for this but that of Ailred, a writer of the twelfth age, grounded upon what remained of ancient records in the monastery of Candida Casa, or Whithern, and on the constant tradition in his time, yet this alone would I hope suffice, in the judgment of all impartial readers, to prescribe against the notion of a pretended primitive Church government without bishops, in Scotland, before S. Palladius his time, advanced without any other authority but that of John Fordun, a writer of the end of the fourteenth age. But of this elsewhere^(c) at more length.

^(a) Vita S. Niniani, [c. ii.]

^(b) Ordinavit Presbyteros, Episcopos consecravit, et totam terram per certas parochias divisit. Ibid. [c. vi.]

^(c) Infra, XXXIX, XL.

A. D. 409.

It is also remarked by S. Ailred in the life of S. Ninian, that among other holy exercises of prayer and lecture, in which he spent in his retirements the time he could spare from his episcopal functions, one of his chief applications was to teach and instruct the youth, and cultivate them with the study of letters, as it was the general practice of all the first preachers of the Gospel among the uncultivated nations, in order to polish them, to root more deeply among them the knowledge of the truths of religion, and transmit them to posterity. This, we shall see, was practised also by S. Patrick, and other apostolical men among the Irish. Thus S. Ninian^(a) received, in his monastery at Whithern, the children of the nobles and commons of the country, taught them sacred letters and sciences, and took a special care to form their manners to piety, as a most effectual means to enable them, by the edification of their lives and good odour of Christian virtues, to draw others to the knowledge of the truth, and at the same time to breed such among them, in whom he saw marks of divine vocation, to the ecclesiastical functions, in order to keep up the succession of pastors, and carry on the work of the Gospel. We have been informed already by Ailred, that for this end the holy man ordained priests and consecrated bishops of the choice of his disciples, whom he had trained up in the same manner that he himself, according to Bede, had been instructed in Rome in the faith and in the mysteries of truth; by which we see that the faith and mysteries of the true religion in which the primitive Christians, young and old, of the south and west of Scotland, were instructed by S. Ninian, were the same that he himself had been bred up to at Rome. This was the doctrine and this the form of discipline which he instilled more particularly in the hearts and minds of his disciples. The cultivating these tender plants, and forming them to be one day worthy labourers in the vineyard which he had planted, was all his comfort and refreshment, when, amidst his toilsome voyages and laborious exercises of his episcopal functions, he retired to his monastery of Candida Casa, or Whithern. And thus it was that S. Ninian spent the rest of his days.

As to his death, though it did not happen till some years after this, yet not knowing the precise year of it, (only that it is believed to have happened about the year 430 or 432,) and not to be obliged so soon again to interrupt the series of the civil and military transactions, I shall here add what

^(a) Plures interea tam nobiles, quam mediocres, filios suos sancto sacris litteris tradunt imbuendos, quos scientia erudiebat, moribus informabat, &c. Vita S. Niniani, [c. x.]

further account we have of him. S. Ninian having spent about thirty years, from his return to his country, in forming and cultivating the Christians of these parts, as well by the example of his life as by his preaching and miracles, being perfect in virtue and well advanced in years, was called by Almighty God to receive the reward of his labours, on the sixteenth day of September, on which his memory hath ever since been celebrated by the Church. He was buried in^(a) the church of S. Martin at Whithern; there his body lies, says Bede, with those of many other saints; there his relics were kept in great veneration, and honoured by the devotion and pilgrimages made to his shrine by the faithful of all degrees, from our kings to the meanest subjects, down till the times of the destruction of all monuments of the piety of our ancestors, and of their gratitude to the memory of those blessed instruments whom God has been pleased to make use of, towards rooting out idolatry and planting and cultivating true religion among us.

A. D. 409.

XXXV. The progress of the Gospel was frequently interrupted in the latter years of S. Ninian, by frequent wars betwixt the provincial Britons and the northern nations. The Britons having, as we have said, shaken off their dependence on the Roman empire, A.D. 409, resolving to defend themselves by their own forces against their common enemies the Picts, assisted by the Scots, found soon, by fatal experience, that they had presumed too much on their national forces, for having more than once^(b) been deprived of all the military experienced soldiers, and of all the flower of the British youth, carried over to the Gauls by the usurpers, what remained, being generally unaccustomed to war or military discipline, they lay exposed as a prey to their enemies. Wherefore, after a faint resistance in the beginning, finding themselves overpowered by their enemies, after having lain groaning under their oppression during several years, they at last found themselves obliged to make new application to the Romans, craving in a lamentable manner their assistance, and promising again an entire subjection to the empire, provided that by their means they were freed from the oppression of their enemies. Upon this the Romans sent over forces to the Britons, which falling^(c) on the Scots and Picts made great slaughter of them, and beat them out of the bounds of the British provinces; and having thus

^(a) Cujus (Niniani) sedem episcopalem sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesia insignem, ubi ipse (Ninianus) etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

^(b) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12.

^(c) Gildas, c. xii. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12.

A. D. 422. delivered them from oppression, ordered them, for a further security, to repair or rebuild the ancient wall betwixt them and the Picts and Scots, and so the Roman auxiliaries left them and departed home with triumph.

This wall the Britons, having more skill in that kind of structure, built of turf rather than of stone, so it proved but a feeble defence to them.

Bede gives^(a) a distinct account of this wall, and says it was built betwixt the friths of Clyde and Forth; that it began at a place called Peneltun or Penuahel. Nennius,^(b) or rather his interpolator, says it was called Cenueil in the Scot's language, that is, the head of the wall; it is like the same place since called Kineil, about two miles distant from Abercorn (where in Bede's time stood a famous monastery on the side of the frith of Forth,) and ending towards the west, near to Alcluyde, or Dunbarton, on the frith of Clyde. Bede remarks that in his time, there were extant as yet, remains of this wall of great height and breadth, as there are still to be seen till this day. But it proved of little or no use^(c) to the Britons, for how soon the Picts and Scots had recovered themselves, and were informed that the Roman forces were all returned home, they came back upon the Britons, and without being at the pains to attack the wall, they broke in by sea over the friths, and ravaged all the country of the Provincials, cutting down the poor inhabitants like ripe corn.

XXXVI. The Britons unable to resist the fierceness of their enemies, sent again deputies to the Romans, to expose their lamentable condition and beg relief, which was promised; and accordingly new forces were sent over to Britain, under the command of Gallio, as Blondus^(d) writes. These forces arriving on a sudden in the island, surprised unawares the Picts and Scots dispersed in different bodies preying on the country. The Romans slew great numbers of them, and forced the rest to make the best of their way home over the narrow seas or friths, which was the only short and sure way they had to escape, because the wall, being for the most part as yet entire, stopped the land passage; besides that they were accustomed every year to pass these narrow seas to prey on the Britons.

All this happened about the year 426, and is set down at more length by Gildas and Bede.

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12.

^(b) Nennius, c. xix.

^(c) Gild. et Bed. *ibid.*

^(d) Blond. dec. i. lib. 2. apud Usser. Ant. Brit. p. 314.

The Romans having thus rescued the Britons a second time from the oppression of their enemies, told them that they could not any more bring over forces to their succour; that therefore they ought to take arms themselves, and train up their countrymen to warlike discipline, to defend themselves with their native forces; and to encourage them the more, they caused build a stately wall, not of turf, nor betwixt the friths of Clyde and Forth as the first wall, but of stone, eight feet broad and twelve feet high, from sea to sea in Northumberland, betwixt the towns which were formerly built there to keep off the enemy, and in the same place where Severus^(a) had built his wall formerly, says Bede. This wall the Romans helped them to build or repair, on public and private charges, and made it so strong and lasting, that even in Bede's time it was as yet very conspicuous. They caused also erect towns from place to place on the sea side, where their enemies used sometimes to land. And thus having encouraged the Britons by exhortations, and instructed them in military discipline, and how to frame arms and instruments of war, they took their leave of them with a resolution not to come back. Having elsewhere^(b) endeavoured to give an account of this wall at more length, and shewn that it stood in Northumberland, where Adrian and Severus had formerly built a wall, I need add nothing here, but refer to what I have said there, and go on with the history.

A. D. 426.

XXXVII. After this wall was finished, the Romans left Britain for the last time, telling the Britons not to expect their return any more to their assistance, and therefore exhorting them to do the best for themselves. The Scots and Picts, being informed that the Romans were departed the island and never more to come back, came and took possession, instead of the inhabitants (or provincial Britons) of all that space of debateable ground (formerly possessed by the Meats or Midland Britons), which lay betwixt the walls, from the northern extremities of the Roman part of the island, (known by the name of the province of Valentia, terminated by the friths and northern wall,) up to the wall in Northumberland. "Omne^(c) aquilon-arem extremamque terræ partem pro indigenis muro tenuis capessunt."

This passage affords a new proof that the last wall, of which Gildas

(a) Ubi et Severus quondam vallum fecerat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12.

(b) Crit. Essay, pp. 23, 24.

(c) Gildas, c. xv. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12.

A. D. 427. speaks, was not built betwixt Clyde and Forth, as Buchanan^(a) supposes, but in Northumberland. For it is unquestionable that the Caledonians, or Picts, were long before this in possession of the northern parts of Britain, up to these friths, so that when Gildas says that, A.D. 427, on the Romans leaving the island, the Picts with the Scots came back and took possession of all the northern lands up to the wall, he could not mean that they took possession of the lands beyond the northern wall, since these lands, from the utmost extremities of the island up to that wall, were the ancient possession of the Picts, and that wall betwixt the friths was built some ages before, to be the boundary of the province of Valentia and the Picts; but the wall here spoken of by Gildas must have been the wall in Northumberland, and the meaning of these words of Gildas and Bede, "Omnem aquilonarem," &c., can be no other than that the Picts took a new possession of the debateable ground, or province of Valentia, from the wall betwixt the friths up to that in Northumberland, that is of the most northern lands of the Roman part of the island, where the provincial Britons had inhabited before.

The Picts,^(b) then, with the Scots, masters of all that northern province, attacked the Northumbrians with great fierceness. The Britons terrified, made but faint resistance, the enemies dragged them down from off the wall with hooked darts, which so frightened them that after a weak defence they left the wall and cities that guarded it, fled away and dispersed here and there. The enemies pursued, preyed on the country, and made greater slaughter of the Britons than ever before, and reduced the remains of them to the greatest extremity.

XXXVIII. It appears that the terror with which the Britons were struck about this time, made them abandon not only their wall and cities, but the towns also, or castles, which the Romans before their last departure had caused erect upon the southern coast, towards Flanders, whence the irruptions of the Saxons were dreaded. For if we take at the letter the words of Constantius, author of S. German's life, the Saxons also, about these times, came over and joined the Picts, and were ravaging Britain, A.D. 429, when S. German, Bishop of Auxerre, with S. Lupus of Troyes, came over to the island against the Pelagians. Constantius^(c) informs us and after him Venerable Bede, that whilst these two bishops were in

^(a) Buchanan, Hist. edit. Freebairn, p. 75.

^(b) Bed. ubi supra.

^(c) Constantius, vit. S. Germ. lib. i. c. 28. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 20.

Britain. A. D. 429, the Picts and Saxons, with joined forces, made war upon the Britons, who, to withstand these enemies, were drawn together, but distrusting of their strength to resist them, they implored the assistance of the holy bishops, which they promised, and accordingly hastened to the camp of the Britons. Their arrival inspired no less courage to the Britons, than if a new army had come to succour them. S. German put himself at their head, and choosed the ground proper for putting them into battle, in order to put in execution what he had in view for obtaining an unbloody victory. The place he pitched upon was a valley surrounded with high hills. When the enemy began to approach, the holy bishop gave out order to all the soldiers to repeat with loud clamours the words they should hear him pronounce. So just when the enemies thought to have fallen on, imagining their march had not been discovered, the holy bishop all of a sudden cried out in a loud voice Alleluia! three times, whereupon the whole British army, with one voice thundered out the same word Alleluia after the Saints. This noise multiplied and rebounded by the echoes from the mountains that surrounded them, so terrified the enemies, that they fell a trembling as if not only the rocks and hills round about, but that the firmament had been falling on their heads. So they all threw away their arms, betook themselves to flight and dispersed, glad to escape with their lives; and many of them were swallowed up by a river in their flight, into which they had thrown themselves headlong to get away with greater speed. Thus Constantius at more length.

A. D. 429.
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In this narration he doth not name the Scots, either because they were, it is like, in a distinct body from the Picts and Saxons, or perhaps, because he confounds here the Scots with the Saxons; by reason that when Constantius wrote this life, soon after S. German's death, which happened A. D. 449., the Saxons called over by the Britons to their assistance against the Picts and Scots, had turned their arms against the Britons themselves, and joined with the Picts, were ravaging the island and destroying the ancient natives. So it was natural for Constantius to think, that those who joined with the Picts attacked the Britons whilst S. German was in the island a few years before, were the same people, to wit, Saxons, as those who with the Picts were making war on the Britons, when he wrote S. German's life. However, it appears that this miraculous victory inspired the Britons with so great courage, and struck such terror into their enemies

A. D. 429.

that they made the best of their way home, being pursued in their turn by the Britons, so that the holy bishops left the island in peace and security, when they returned back to the Gauls. "*Composita insula pace multiplici,*" says Bede, after Constantius.

It was in order to oppose the Pelagian heresy that S. German with S. Lupus had made this voyage to Britain. Everybody knows that this heresy attacked chiefly the gratuity, necessity, and efficacy of the grace of Christ. The author, Pelagius, being a Briton, the heresy also made a greater progress in that island, promoted chiefly by one Agricola. But he was not the only one that spread that heresy in Britain. Prosper informs us elsewhere,^(a) that it got a footing there by the enemies of God's grace returning to the soil of their origin. So it appears there were more than this Agricola, and those Britons who being themselves infected with the Pelagian heresy, returned to Britain and infected others. But care was taken by the sounder part of the British Church to put a remedy to this growing evil; and therefore the Britons distrusting their own sufficiency to repress such subtle adversaries, they very prudently addressed themselves to the Gallican bishops in their neighbourhood, and craved their assistance in the common cause of the defence of the Catholic doctrine. The bishops of the Gauls upon that assembled in a great council, in which by common consent they made choice of these two holy bishops, S. German of Auxerre, and S. Lupus of Troyes, to go over to Britain; Pope Celestine also joined his authority to that of the Gallican bishops, and at the instance of the deacon Palladius, (who had a particular zeal for the Britons,) the Pope gave commission to S. German to go over in his name, and with^(b) his authority, vice sua, as Prosper informs us, and oppose the common enemy, to reduce the Britons to the Catholic faith, and confirm them in it. The two holy bishops zealously undertook the employment and performed their commission with great success, confirming their preaching by miracles, by which those that had been seduced were brought back to the true faith, the doubtful were confirmed in it, and the obstinate adversaries were confounded and reduced to silence.

^(a) Prosper, *contra Collatorem*, c. xxi.

^(b) Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani episcopi Pelagiani filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corruptit, sed actione Palladii diaconi, Papa Celestinus Germanum episcopum Autisiodorensis vice sua mittit, et deturbatis hereticis, Britannos ad Catholicam fidem redigit. Prosper, in *Chron.* ad A.D. 429.

This perverse heresy being thus repressed (says Constantius,^(a) an author of the times, and after him Bede,) and the authors of it confuted, so that all men's minds were settled in the purity of the faith, the holy bishops repaired to the sepulchre of S. Alban the Martyr, with an intention to give thanks to God by his intercession. There S. German having with him relics of the apostles and divers martyrs (whereof, as the authors relate, he used to carry a boxful hanging round his neck,) after prayer made, he caused S. Alban's sepulchre to be opened, because he would there lay up those precious gifts; for he thought it convenient that the same repository should contain the members of many saints out of divers regions, whom heaven had received for the equality of their merits. Having then with great honour deposed and united together so many relics, he digged up from the place where S. Alban had shed his blood a mass of earth, which he intended to take along with him, in which were yet marks of the blood of the martyr: these things being thus performed, an innumerable multitude was that day converted to our Lord. Thus Constantius; by which we see what was, in those times, the faith of the British Christians, and of the holiest and learnedest bishops of the Gauls, concerning the veneration of relics and prayers to the saints. Soon after this happened the miraculous victory obtained by these holy bishops' prayers in favour of the Britons over the Picts and Saxons or Scots, which we have already set down; after which, and many other miracles wrought by these bishops, they left the Britons in peace and security, and returned to the Gauls, A.D. 430. And to finish here at once what concerns S. German's zeal for preserving the Catholic faith among the Britons, this holy bishop, accompanied with Severus, Bishop of Treves, was obliged to make a second voyage to that island, about the year 447, to repress the same enemies of the grace of God, who had begun again to spread the poison of their heresy in Britain. But these holy prelates, by their instructions and miracles, did so confirm the Britons in the Catholic faith that the authors of the heresy were expelled the island.

XXXIX. As to S. Palladius, the deacon above mentioned, who excited S. Celestine, Pope, to concur with the Gallican bishops in the first legation of S. German to Britain against the Pelagians, this is he who was ordained bishop by the same Pope, and sent by him, A. D. 431, to preach the Gospel

A. D. 429.

^(a) Constantius, Vita S. Germani. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 18.

A. D. 431. to the Scots. As to his country, the opinion of Fordun and others of his being an Oriental, or the same with Palladius, disciple of Evagrius, or Bishop of Helenopolis, is exploded long since by all the learned. But his singular zeal for the Britons, as also the choice that S. Celestine made afterwards of him, preferably to others, to send him to preach the Gospel to the Scots, seems to render more probable Possevin's conjecture that he was a Briton, or of those parts. This is confirmed by what Archbishop Ussher^(a) relates that he found in a MS. of a work of William of Malmesbury, a note in an ancient hand, bearing that this Palladius was a Briton. And we see, by the example of S. Ninian, that some of the British youth, touched with a desire of advancing in piety and in the knowledge of the heavenly truths, used in those ages to repair to Rome, and there, according to their merit and progress, were advanced to Orders, and last to the degree of bishop, and sent back to propagate Christianity in their country or the neighbourhood. We shall see shortly another example in S. Patrick.

Now as to S. Palladius's^(b) mission, Prosper, a contemporary writer, speaking of the great zeal of S. Celestine, Pope, in particular for the Churches of Britain, gives us the first account of Palladius's ordination and mission to the Scots by that Pope in the following words. That this holy Pope Celestine, whilst he endeavoured (by the deputation above mentioned of S. German) to preserve the Roman part of Britain in the Catholic faith, did, by ordaining a bishop to the Scots, render a barbarous island Christian. Thus Prosper writing, A. D. 432, soon after the mission of S. Palladius, full of the hopes of the success of it, but before he could have any distinct account of it. But in his Chronicle, written several years after, and when by the preaching of S. Patrick, the second bishop sent from Rome to the Scots, the number of Christians was increased among them, he gives a more distinct account of the time of the ordination and mission of S. Palladius, the first bishop sent to the Scots, in these words. A. D. 431, Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent the first bishop to the Scots believing in Christ.^(c)

^(a) Palladium Britannicum genere. Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 418.

^(b) Nec segniore cura ab hoc eodem morbo (Pelagianismi) Britannias liberavit (Cælestinus Papa,) quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto exclusit oceanî, et ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam. Prosper contra Collatorem.

^(c) Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a l'apa Cælestino Palladius et primus episcopus mittitur. Chron. Prosperi, ad A. D. 431.

The two passages of Prosper containing the surest and first account we have of a bishop sent from Rome to the Scots, whether in Ireland or Britain, have been the subject of great debates, not only as to what concerns the beginning or first preaching of Christianity to the Scots, but more especially in regard of the form of ecclesiastical government among them, wherefore these passages of Prosper are not to be passed transiently over, but require to be considered and examined more narrowly in order to fix the true meaning of them, which writers of different parties and nations have endeavoured to wrest in favour of the various opinions they were prepossessed with.

A. D. 431.

The first debate is about the meaning of the words "ad Scotos, &c.," in Prosper's Chronicle. Who were these Scots to whom Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine? Whether to those in Britain, or to those in Ireland: both Irish and Scots pretend, and with great warmth each of them, that he was sent to them. To clear this matter, I conceive it is of importance to observe, first, that Prosper's words, *ad Scotos, &c.*, are in themselves undetermined, and so their obvious and natural meaning is, that Palladius was sent to the people or nation of the Scots in general, whether in Ireland or in Britain. Secondly, on the one hand it must, indeed, be owned that Prosper's words in the first passage (*contra Collatorem*) "*fecit etiam barbaram (insulam) Christianam,*" he made a barbarous, or extra-provincial island, Christian, and this in opposition to Britain, which he calls a Roman Island, it must be owned, I say, that this passage insinuates that, according to Prosper, both Pope Celestine and Palladius had chiefly the Scots in Ireland in view, they being in those days as yet the greatest number, and a nation in one island by themselves, without the bounds of the empire, and therefore termed barbarous, whereas in these times the Scots in Britain, though already settled in the isles and western coasts of the island, yet it appears not that they made as yet, and for several years after this, a distinct nation and kingdom in Britain by themselves. Thirdly, on the other hand, we are informed by the British writer Nennius,^(*) who lived in the ninth age, and it is owned even by all the Irish writers in the most ancient accounts they give us of S. Palladius, that being well received by the Irish (because, say they, the conversion of Ireland was reserved to S. Patrick), S. Palladius left Ireland

(*) *Et profectus est iste Palladius de Hibernia, pervenitque ad Britanniam, et ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum.* Nennius, c. liv. edit. Gale. Vit. 2da S. Patricii, p. 13, n. 24. Vit. 7ma S. Patricii, p. 128. edit. Colgan, in Triade Thaumaturga.

A. D. 431.

in a short time, and returned back to Britain and there remained till his death, in the northern parts of the island where the Picts dwelt, and where, also, long before this, the Scots had a habitation in the north-western parts of Britain, now can it be thought that S. Palladius would have overlooked these Scots, since his mission was intended for the Scots nation wherever they dwelt, and those in Ireland refusing to hear him, can we doubt but he would preach the Gospel to those in Britain, when he came among them or among the Picts in their neighbourhood.

The second debate on the sense of Prosper's passages is on the words "primus episcopus," in his Chronicle. Fordun, as we shall see, joining his own gloss upon these words to his notion of a much more early Christianity of the Scots in Britain, hath built upon them chiefly his new scheme of hierarchy, or church government among the Scots in ancient times: of which anon.

But not to insist upon the word "primus," its being wanting, as Ussher^(a) observes, in ancient MS. copies of Prosper's Chronicle, and retaining the common meaning of these words, as Bede and other ancients have it, nothing will be more plain than the meaning of the words by which Palladius is designed the first bishop sent from Rome to the Scots, if it be observed that Prosper wrote his Chronicle about A. D. 445, some fourteen years after the mission of Palladius (A.D. 431), the first bishop sent to the Scots, and several years after the mission of S. Patrick, the second bishop sent to them. For, as it is nowise likely that S. Prosper, living at Rome, could be ignorant of the mission of S. Patrick to the Scots, nor of the great conversions made by him in Ireland, by the year 445: so it was very natural that he, writing his Chronicle at the time he knew there had been sent a second bishop to the Scots, should call S. Palladius the first bishop sent to them, with reference to S. Patrick, the second bishop sent also to them, as I doubt not but S. Prosper would have designed him, if he had had occasion to mention him, as both Marianus^(b) Scotus and Florence of Worcester do, and supply what is wanting in Prosper's Chronicle. Thus, "ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius primus episcopus missus est." Thus far Prosper: to which Marianus and Florence subjoin, "post ipsum Patricius, &c.;" thus the meaning of the word "primus," in Prosper, is clear: Palladius was ordained by Celestine,

^(a) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 417.

^(b) Marian. Scot. in Chron. Florent. Wigorn. Chron.

Pope, and sent the first bishop to the Scots, and after him S. Patrick was sent to them. So the true and natural meaning of the word "primus" in Prosper is, that of the two bishops sent to the Scots from Rome, S. Palladius was the first.

A. D. 431.

The word "credentes," in Prosper's Chronicle ("ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a Cælestino Papa Palladius et primus episcopus mititur"), makes the subject of a third debate. What is the meaning of these words, "ad Scotos credentes," &c. ? Were those Scots to whom Palladius was destined already Christians, or believers, before he was sent to them ? Fordun, and the following Scots writers, interpret these words of Prosper's Chronicle in that sense, and suppose that long before the coming of Palladius the Scots in Britain were already all Christians ; but this interpretation seems to put Prosper in contradiction with himself, for in the first passage of Prosper, taken from his book *contra Collatorem*, he calls the island or nation, to which Palladius was sent, a barbarous island or nation, by which in this place Prosper must necessarily mean, that the generality, at least, of the inhabitants were as yet infidels, since he says, that of barbarous, that they were before, Celestine by the mission of S. Palladius, made them, or intended to make them, Christians. "*Fecit etiam (insulam) barbaram Christianam.*" Since, then, Celestine made the nation to which he sent Palladius a Christian nation, according to Prosper, it would seem to follow that he was persuaded that when Palladius was sent, they were as yet infidels, or not Christians, at least as to the bulk of the nation. So I conceive the seeming contradiction betwixt the two passages of Prosper might be naturally thus reconciled ; when Palladius was sent to the Scots, A. D. 431, there were, no doubt, as we shall just now see, Christians already, or believers in Christ, among them, both in Britain and Ireland, and that suffices to verify the passage of Prosper's Chronicle, that Palladius was sent to the Scots believing in Christ. For it was natural that the Pope should address the Bishop Palladius to those among the Scots who were already believers or Christians, but that doth not hinder that the nation of the Scots in general, and the bulk of the inhabitants, might have been still infidels, and that Palladius was sent to convert them, and make them, that is the nation, Christians, which verifies the other passage of Prosper in his book against Cassian's Conferences, where, speaking of Pope Celestine's intentions in sending Palladius to the Scots, he relates it with so great hopes of success that he reckoned the work was done. By ordaining

A. D. 431. a bishop for the Scots, says Prosper, he made a barbarous island or nation Christian, and thus the passages of Prosper may be easily reconciled.

As to the account of Palladius' mission, given by Nennius,^(*) a British writer of the ninth age, where he plainly says that the Bishop Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to convert the Scots: in the first place, Nennius lived about four hundred years after Palladius and Prosper's time; secondly, Nennius is a writer of very small authority, and very credulous; thirdly, it is visible by his text that he means here the Scots in Ireland, and not those in Britain, since he tells that Palladius soon left the Scots in Ireland and came over to Britain, where he died in Pictland. But though we should understand the words of Nennius, "ad Scotos in Christum convertendos," of the Scots in general, or nation of the Scots wherever they dwelt, that doth not hinder there being before his coming some number of Christians among the Scots, both in Britain and Ireland. And there is great reason to believe that Pope Celestine was informed, either by Palladius himself, who was so zealous for the British Islands, or by S. German, or by some that accompanied him into Britain, on their return from thence, that there was a beginning of Christianity among the Scots, and a door open towards the conversion of all the nation, and that upon this information the Pope, following the constant practice and zeal of his predecessors, who, in all ages, since the Apostles' time, never failed to improve all opportunities towards propagating the Gospel, and extending the limits of the kingdom of Christ, by sending bishops to nations where they heard there was some number of Christians, and favourable dispositions in the rest, upon these informations, I say, and these motives, S. Celestine ordained Palladius bishop, and sent him to form a Christian Church and propagate the Gospel among the Scots.

Now it was natural, that in order to this, the Pope should address the new bishop more immediately to those among the Scots who had already embraced the faith of Christ ("ad Scotos in Christum credentes") that he might take information from, and measures with them, on the proper means for converting the rest of the nation, as well as that he might begin by settling order and discipline among them by constituting a Christian Church, which, properly speaking, and according to the sense of antiquity, they could not be truly called till they had a bishop at their head: he alone having by his character, according to Christ's institution, the power to

(*) Nennius, c. liv. Missus est Palladius episcopus primitus a Cælestino Papa Romano ad Scotos in Christum convertendos.

govern in chief, to preserve true faith, and to propagate it by ordaining other pastors, and by giving them mission to deliver down to posterity the faith once delivered to the saints, and spread it in their neighbourhood, to maintain unity under a common head, within themselves, and communion with other Churches in their neighbourhood, and so with all the rest of the Christian world abroad. A. D. 431.

Now that, by the year 431, when Palladius was sent to the Scots, or before his mission, there was a beginning of Christianity, or some that believed in Christ among them, is very likely, even in regard of the Scots settled in former ages, on the western coasts and in the isles of Britain, by reason of their living upon one side, in the neighbourhood of the Britons, from whom they were only separated by the frith of Clyde, and who were generally Christians, and on the other side, contiguous to the Picts, who had begun to receive the Gospel by the preaching of S. Ninian. And as to the Scots in Ireland, that there were among them Christians before the mission of S. Palladius, I refer the reader to the British Antiquities of Archbishop Ussher^(*) where he will find, in about thirty pages in folio, accounts of Christians in Ireland before Palladius was sent thither. And, however dubious most of the legends quoted by Ussher upon this occasion may happen to be, independently of that, it is nowise credible that Ireland, lying in the neighbourhood of Britain, all Christian, could have remained two or three ages, since the Britons were Christians, without some Christians, or believers in Christ, among them; and that suffices to verify Prosper's expression, "ad Scotos in Christum credentes," as we have shown.

XL. After having thus endeavoured to fix the true meaning of Prosper's two passages, to reconcile them together, and with those of other ancient writers that mention S. Palladius, his mission to the Scots, it remains to give account of the use our historian Fordun hath made of the passage of Prosper's Chronicle, "ad Scotos in Christum credentes," &c., and of the inferences which he, according to his usual method, hath drawn from this passage, upon which, with the help of his new scheme of the high antiquities of the Scots in Britain, and of his opinion of their Conversion to Christianity, A. D. 203, Fordun built the following story of S. Palladius, and of the church government among the Scots before Palladius's mission.

He begins by relating Prosper's words from Bede and Sigebert, and

(*) Ussher, Ant. Brit. pp. 366-416.

A. D. 431. supposes Palladius to be the disciple of Evagrius, mentioned by the historian Socrates, and then, quoting the Polychronicon for his voucher, goeth on thus :—"A.D. 430, Pope Celestine^(a) sent to Scotland the first bishop Palladius, concerning whom the Scots are persuaded that he taught by word and example, with great care, the orthodox faith to the nation of the Scots, who had been long before believers in Christ, that he taught them also to celebrate carefully the feasts and ecclesiastical solemnities. Before whose coming the Scots had for their doctors of faith and administrators of sacraments, priests only, or monks, following the rites of the primitive Church. Palladius came to Scotland with a great company of clergy, the eleventh year of King Eugenius's reign, and that king gave him, in a free gift, a dwelling-place where he himself had chosen it."

The only voucher that Fordun quotes for this story is the Polychronicon; now supposing these words were truly to be met with in the Polychronicon, it would add little or no authority to the credit of so ancient a fact, since Ralph Higden, author of the Polychronicon, lived but in the same fourteenth age with Fordun, and both of them above nine hundred years after the mission of Palladius. But as to the Polychronicon, the truth is, that besides that there are no such words in Mr. Gale's edition, the only one I know of it in print, the true Polychronicon (whereof I have seen an excellent MS. in the Colbert^(b) library, belonging to the Count de Segnelay, in a hand near the time,) gives this account of S. Patrick and S. Palladius's mission, lib. iv. c. 32, where, after mentioning Pope Celestine, he adds, "*Iste (Cælestinus) est qui misit S. Patricium primum ad Hiberniam convertendam et Palladium Romanum Diaconum ad Scotos convertendos, anno Pontificatus sui nono.*" These words, far from assuring that the Scots were converted long before Palladius, "*longe ante credentem,*" as Fordun alleges, quite overturn that story, and attribute the Conversion of the Scots to Christianity as much to Palladius, as they do that of the Irish to S. Patrick, so Fordun's citation of the Polychronicon here is a bare flourish at best; and it doth

^(a) Polychronicon, A.D. 430. *Papa Cælestinus primum episcopum in Scotiam misit S. Palladium, de quo Scotti convenit, quod suam, id est, Sæctorum gentem, longe ante in Christum credentem, fidem orthodoxam verbo sollicite perdocuit et exemplo, festa simul et memorias ecclesiasticas diligenter celebrare. Ante cujus adventum habebant Scoti fidei doctores ac sacramentorum ministratores, presbyteros solummodo et monachos, ritum sequentes ecclesiarum primitivæ. Advenit vero Scotiam magna cleri comitiva, Regis Eugenii regnationis anno undecimo; cui rex mansionis locum, ubi petierat, gratis dedit. Fordun, edit. Hearne, lib. iii. c. 8.*

^(b) Biblioth. Colbertin. MS. num. 3147.

not appear that he had any better ground for the story above rehearsed, than his own interpretation of Prosper's words, with the opinion he was prepossessed with of the Scots' high antiquities, and of their early Conversion as we have observed.

A. D. 431.

However, Fordun being looked upon, as we have shown elsewhere, by all our succeeding writers as the standard of the Scots history, this passage concerning Christianity before Palladius's coming, with Fordun's notion of the church government in those times, was copied verbatim by his continuators, by the compiler of Palladius' *Lessons* in the *Scottish Breviary*,^(a) and with some alteration in the words rather than in the sense by our following Catholic writers, Major, Boece, Lesley, &c. But how many citations soever are brought for this story from our writers, Catholic or Protestant, they all depend upon Fordun's sole authority, and must necessarily fall or stand with it. But to be sure, neither Fordun himself, nor any of his continuators, nor the author of the *Legends* in the *Scots Breviary*, nor any other Catholic writer ever dreamt of a Scottish Presbyterian Church in those early times, that is, of a succession of priests or ministers of the Word and Sacraments, without episcopal ordination, or a parity of bishops and priests in their character and authority; they all knew that this heresy had been condemned anciently in Aerius, and lately in the Waldenses, Wickliffe, and other sectaries; and that such an imagination of a succession of Christian pastors, without episcopal ordination, would have been, in the judgment of all antiquity, looked upon almost as no less absurd in religious matters, than it would be in natural things to suppose a race of men growing up like mushrooms, or propagated in the world without fathers.

The expression of Fordun, "*ante ejus (Palladii) adventum*," &c., was meant by himself, and understood by all those other Catholic writers, in a very orthodox sense, nowise opposite to the known doctrine and practice of the Christian Church in all ages. All those writers being prepossessed, as well as Fordun, with the common opinions received in their times, that the Scots were settled in Britain before the Incarnation, that they had embraced Christianity from the beginning of the third age; and then observing Palladius, called by Prosper the first bishop, sent to the Scots above two hundred years after their pretended Conversion, they all concluded, after Fordun, very naturally, from these premises, that during all that time, that

^(a) *Breviar. Aberdonen. in festo S. Palladii. 6to Julii.*

A. D. 431. is, from the year 203, when this Conversion of the Scots to Christianity is placed by Fordun, till 431 (that Palladius, the first bishop, was sent to them), the Scots had no ordinary bishop residing among them, and yet were all Christians (so they understood the words, "*ad Scotos in Christum credentes*," in Prosper,) when Palladius came to them, and by consequence, it not being possible to preserve Christianity among a people without pastors to instruct them and administrate the sacraments to them, and these functions, next to bishops, belonging properly to priests, these writers concluded naturally with Fordun, that the Scottish Christians must of necessity have had priests among them for performing of those functions, during these first two hundred years after they embraced the Christian religion.

But neither Fordun himself, nor any of our Catholic writers that copied him, ever dreamt that those priests or doctors of the Scots had no episcopal ordination, or that they were ordained by laymen, or by bare presbyters; they knew very well it was no hard matter for their priests to receive ordination and mission from bishops in the neighbourhood, or in foreign countries, as it hath been the charitable practice in all ages of foreign and neighbouring bishops and Churches, to send in priests for instructing the people and administrating the sacraments to those Christians or Catholics who happened to have no proper bishops among them. For the purpose, everybody knows that the Catholics in Scotland remained more than one hundred years after the new Reformation without bishops residing among them, and during all that time they continued, as much as the severity of the new laws brought in with the Reformers would permit, in the profession of the Catholic Faith and use of sacraments, having no other doctors of faith or administrators of sacraments but clergy, priests and regulars of several orders, till at last they received the first bishop, several years after the Reformation, consecrated and sent to them from abroad. Now, I suppose, this fact may one day come to be chronicled, and could it be better expressed than in the words of Prosper's Chronicle, *mutatis mutandis*, thus, A. D....NN. *ad Scotos Catholicos ordinatur a Papa N. et primus episcopus mittitur*. A. D....NN. was consecrated by Pope N. and sent the first bishop to the Scots Catholics, to wit, after the destruction of the old religion with the hierarchy.

I suppose, also, the case of those Catholics, as to pastors, wanting bishops, from the subversion of the episcopal order at the Reformation till the coming in of this new bishop, may also come one day to be chronicled,

could it be better expressed than in Fordun's words, ante cujus (NN. episcopi) adventum, habebant Scoti (Catholici) fidei doctores ac sacramentorum ministratores presbyteros solummodo vel monachos. Before the coming in of the new bishop, the Scots Catholics had for doctors of faith and ministers of the sacraments, only clergy, priests and regulars, from the expulsion or death of their old Catholic Ordinaries.

A. D. 431.

Both these accounts, in the words of Prosper and Fordun, would be literally true and applicable, as well, at least, to the Catholics in Scotland since the new Reformation, as to the first Christians among the Scots before Palladius, and would it be a tolerable inference to conclude from thence, as the Presbyterian writers do from Fordun's account of the state of the Scots in the first ages after they are supposed to have received Christianity, that during more than one hundred years after the new Reformation, the Catholics in Scotland had, for their pastors and ministers of the Word and Sacraments, none else but men bearing the title and using the power of priests who had not received episcopal ordination, nor any at all but from mere laymen, or at most, from simple presbyters ! As if their priests could not easily have received ordination (as they did effectually) from the bishops of foreign Catholic countries ; or that some of these might have had the charity and zeal to make a visit among them, and ordain lawful pastors for them.

I add, what I hope none that know the doctrine and discipline of antiquity will contest, that at least from the beginning of the third age, when Christianity is supposed by Fordun to have been first planted among the Scots in Britain, till the coming in of Palladius, A. D. 431, the distinction of bishops and priests, and the necessity of episcopal ordination for constituting priests or ministers of the Word and of the Sacraments, were no less the universal belief and practice of the Christian Church in all other parts of it than in the sixteenth and seventeenth ages : I say, I hope this will not be contested, because even the most learned among the adversaries of episcopacy (such as Salmasius,^(a) Blondel,^(b) Bochart, &c.,) do commonly acknowledge that the distinction of bishops and priests and episcopal government were generally received by the middle, or before the end of the second age.

That being : now suppose we should let pass that groundless notion of Presbyterian writers, that the hierarchy of the Christian Church, consisting

^(a) Salmas. sub mentito nomine Walon. Messal. p. 17.

^(b) Blondel, Apolog. S. Hieron.

A. D. 431. of the distinct degrees of bishops, priests, and inferior ministers, had no divine institution, but was a bare ecclesiastical polity, introduced at first by those who succeeded immediately to the apostles in the second age, but being found necessary towards entertaining peace and unity in the Christian Church, that it had been universally received and settled before the beginning of the third age, in all Christian countries, civilized, or not barbarous, where there were Churches formed, as the only form of church government. This supposed, and that episcopal government was the only known government of the Church throughout all the Roman empire, that is, through all the polished part of the world, and that undeniably by the end of the second age, that is, before the Scots in Britain, according to Fordun and his followers, received the light of the Gospel, I would willingly ask of the Scottish Presbyterian writers whether their insisting so much on a Presbyterian government in Scotland from the first entry of Christianity among the Scots, A. D. 203, according to Fordun, till A. D. 431, that is, during the third, fourth, and beginning of the fifth age, whilst all the other Churches of the Christian world, orient and occident, and all those Churches among others that were immediately founded by, and received the doctrine and discipline of Christianity from some one of the apostles themselves, not only owned episcopal government as the only settled form in the Church by Christ its Founder, but in consequence of that, condemned those who dared to take upon them the authority of the Christian priesthood without episcopal ordination as usurpers,^(c) and all that they did of that kind as sacrilegious and null, and upon their repentance reduced them to the state of bare laymen. I would willingly ask, I say, of our Scots Presbyterian writers in this supposition, whether their insisting so much on an anti-episcopal Church in Scotland, in those times, doth great honour to the first Scots Christians of these ages, to single them thus out as the only Church that differed from all the rest of the Christian and even the apostolical Churches in ecclesiastical discipline and government, as being alone destitute of an ecclesiastical polity, order, and discipline, settled in all formed Churches over the Christian world: is this, I say, very honourable to these first Christians of Scotland? or is it a likely story, or will it find credit in the learned world, especially having no other voucher but an author of the fourteenth age?

(c) *Infra*, XLIII, the case of Colluthus and Ischyrras.

But enough of this, for I do not pretend here to enter upon the controversy about Episcopacy in general. I refer the readers to the learned tracts written upon that subject by the Catholic divines, and by those of the Protestant Church of England; my intention here being only to examine Fordun's account of church government among the Scots, before the coming in of S. Palladius, and I hope that by what I have said on that, it appears clearly that neither Fordun himself understood the words of Prosper's Chronicle, nor any of our Catholic writers understood Fordun's words, "*ante cujus (Palladii) adventum,*" &c., in the Presbyterian sense, as if the Scots had, for above two hundred years before Palladius, had no other ministers of the Word and Sacraments but nominal presbyters who had received no ordination from bishops, nor indeed any ordination at all, but what they received from simple presbyters or mere laymen. It was reserved to the times of our new Reformation, made and carried on in Scotland partly by mere laymen, and partly by bare presbyters; it was, I say, reserved to those men to give this interpretation to Fordun's words, "*ante cujus adventum,*" &c., and that too being forced to it by necessity, to screen themselves from the obvious accusation of usurping themselves, and admitting others to the pastoral functions without any episcopal ordination or mission, and without any precedent from antiquity for their so doing. To men in those circumstances, Fordun's unwary and groundless expressions were more precious than all the Councils and Fathers of the first five ages, than the authority even of S. Hierome himself, whom of all the ancients, the anti-episcopal writers suppose the most favourable to their beloved parity, or an equal power in priests and bishops; for S. Hierome, in his epistle to Evagrius, (besides many other passages of his other works, which manifestly show that he believed with all the rest of the ancient Fathers, the subordination of priests to bishops,) expressly excepts the power of ordination as an episcopal function, incommunicable to priests, "*Quid^(a) facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod non facit presbyter.*"

And now it will, I am afraid, appear that I have already insisted too long on Fordun's account of the pretended primitive church government in Scotland, but if the reader will attentively consider the abuse that hath been made, since the new Reformation, of Fordun's words, towards overturning the whole ancient form of government of the Christian Church, and

A. D. 431.

^(a) Hieronym. epist. 85, ad Evagrium.

A. D. 431. the dismal consequences that the new schemes of levelling doctrines, built on such passages as this of Fordun, have had in Scotland within these two last centuries, as to the ecclesiastical and even as to the civil constitution, especially in the last age, if this be considered, I say, I hope the reader, far from thinking this digression on Fordun's passages superfluous, will be satisfied, that being obliged by the sequel of my narration to mention those passages, I ought not to have passed them slightly over in a work destined chiefly to clear up the ancient state of the Christian religion in Scotland.

A learned bishop^(a) of the Church of England hath remarked that in that laborious collection of Blondel, under the title of *An Apology for S. Hierome*, that writer, with all his vast reading, could not find one undoubted example of a Church of the Presbyterian way in ancient times, but only that of the Scots, and yet the proof of this Presbyterian Church among the Scots before Palladius, depends chiefly on this passage of Fordun. "*ante cujus (Palladii) adventum,*" &c., for the great musters that are made of our Presbyterian writers, among others by David Buchanan,^(b) in his preface to Knox's History of passages from the Scots historians and others, as so many ancient authorities, distinct from John Fordun's, in favour of the Presbyterian parity, are at the bottom all of them resolved in the sole authority of John Fordun, who wrote no sooner than about one thousand years after Palladius's time, without having one single author to vouch the gloss he puts upon Prosper's words, which joined with Fordun's own notions of the Scottish high antiquities, and of their early Conversion in Britain, is all the bottom he had to go upon for drawing the foresaid famous conclusion, "*ante cujus, &c.,*" as we have shown; and Fordun's new system of the remote antiquities of the Scots in Britain being sufficiently disproved already, his other fabric of a new and singular ecclesiastical government among the Scottish Christians in primitive times is overthrown, and falls to the ground all at once, for if in the beginning of the third age the Scots were not as yet fully settled in Britain, at least as a nation and government distinct by themselves, then there could be no Conversion of the Scots in Britain, A. D. 203, nor any Christian Church of the Scottish nation in that island during the third age, nor by consequence, any occasion for bishops, or in default of them, for priests or monks, to administrate

^(a) Lloyd's Church Government of Great Britain, preface, p. 5.

^(b) Preface to Knox's History, edit. Lond. folio, p. 25.

the Word and Sacraments to the Scottish Christians, whence it follows that all the fabric of the primitive church government among the Scots, by priests and monks without bishops, is at once overturned, by what we have shown in the first part of this essay.

A. D. 431.

XLI. But this, I am afraid, is too much on that subject. I return to what further account there is of S. Palladius' life. Fordun^(a) informs us, from the life of S. Kentigern, disciple to Servanus, that S. Palladius preached and exercised his episcopal functions several years, among the Picts and Scots in Britain; that not finding himself able alone to discharge all the pastoral duties among these people, he made choice of Servanus, a person of great sanctity, whom he instructed in what belonged to the pastoral charge, consecrated him bishop, and appointed him his coadjutor or suffragan for advancing the work of the Gospel, and for assisting him in the Conversion and instruction of the people.

Both the Irish^(b) and Scottish writers, after Nennius, agree that S. Palladius died at Fordun in the Mearns, which the Picts possessed in those days, "in terra Pictorum;" his festival was celebrated all over Scotland the sixth of July, the day of his death, and he was recorded and honoured as the Apostle of the Scots, for thus his festival is inscribed in red letters in the ancientest Scottish calendars, "Prid. Non. Julii S. Palladii episcopi et apostoli Scotorum," and this title of Apostle of the Scots, given to S. Palladius in the ancientest calendars of the Church of Scotland before Fordun's time, seems to imply that the churchmen and writers of Scotland, in more early times, were not persuaded that the body of the Scots nation was converted to Christianity before Palladius' time in the fifth century, and is a new proof that this Presbyterian scheme of the ancient church government of Scotland is fabulous. S. Palladius' memory is still kept up till this day at Fordun in the Mearns by a yearly fair, called by the vulgar, Padie-fair, curtailed for Palladie's fair, at Padie-kirk, where his relics were, in all bygone times, kept with great veneration; and where, A.D. 1494,^(c) William Scheves, Archbishop of S. Andrews, caused place them more honourably in a silver shrine; which, as the report goes, says Spottiswoode,^(d) was taken up at the demolishing of churches, at the time of the new Reformation, by a gentle-

(a) Fordun, lib. iii. c. 9.

(b) Nennius, c. xxiv.

(c) Boeth. Hist. Scotor. lib. vii. fol. 129, edit. Ferrer.

(d) Hist. p. 7.

- A. D. 431. man of good rank, (Wishart of Pitarro,) who dwelt near the place. The people of the country, observing the decay which followed on that family not many years after, ascribed the same to the violation of S. Palladius' grave:—thus Spottiswoode; nor is this the only example of divine justice fallen upon families for the sacrileges committed in those times.

This is all we know from the Scottish writers that now remain, of S. Palladius, of the exercise of his mission, and honour paid to his memory among the Scots. As to the Irish writers, it is true that they generally suppose after Nennius, that Palladius did not long^(*) survive his retiring from Ireland, and that he died soon after among the Picts in Britain, and that it was upon the news of his death that S. Patrick was consecrated bishop, and sent to the Scots in Ireland. But it is like, this tradition of the Irish had no other ground than that the Irish having no further account of S. Palladius after he left Ireland, believed he was dead, or rather that his retreat from Ireland, with a resolution never to return back to it, was in regard of them the same thing as his death, and made the sending another bishop to Ireland equally as necessary, as if Palladius had been really dead; and thus the tradition of the Irish concerning him, may be probably reconciled with that of the Scots in Britain, who are persuaded that S. Palladius outlived his retreat from Ireland, and exercised his pastoral functions several years among the Picts and Scots in the north of Britain, as we have said.

However that be, it must be owned after all, that the cultivating and progress of the Christian religion in these early times among the Scots in Britain, as well as among the northern Picts, was chiefly owing to S. Patrick, his disciples, or to their successors, among whom the great S. Columba, as will afterwards appear, bears the principal rank. We may have also occasion, in the sequel of these essays, frequently to observe the communication and intercourse, which lasted for several ages afterwards, betwixt the Scots in Ireland (as long as they bore that name), and the Scots in Britain (to whom the name of Scots was by degrees at last wholly appropriated), whence it came to pass in ancient times that both the Scots in Ireland and those in Britain, looked upon the Scottish Saints, without examining whether they were born in Ireland or in Britain, as belonging to the Scots

(*) Post parvum intervallum defunctus est Palladius in campo Girgin, in loco qui dicitur Fordun. Dicunt alii martyrio coronatum esse eum illic. Colgan, in Triade Thaumaturga, vit. 2^a S. Patricii, c. xxiv. p. 13.

A. D. 431.
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in common, and in consequence, both those of Britain and those of Ireland promiscuously adopted them for their patrons, celebrating their memories, and looking upon the sanctity of their lives, and their zeal to propagate Christianity, and their other memorable actions, as being equally honourable to both nations, without having ever had, as far as appears, any contestation about them. It had been happy for them both, and advantageous to both nations, and for their mutual interests, spiritual and temporal, that this harmony and close union had been preserved without interruption betwixt them, as it appears it was without any considerable breach, as long as the Irish continued a free and independent nation, governed by their own native kings and laws. But from the time that the Irish by degrees became entirely subject to the English, and especially after the usage that Edward Bruce, who had gone over to rescue them, met with, A.D. 1318, this mutual harmony betwixt the Scots and the Irish was interrupted, and at last the Irish being forced by the persecutions of the new Reformers to come over in great numbers to foreign Catholic countries, and there as a ready means to find protection, subsistence, and establishment, having begun under the name of Scots, (which had for many ages been in desuetude among them,) to claim to themselves alone all the merit of the Scottish Saints who were honoured in foreign countries, for the Conversions wrought by them in former ages, or for the sanctity of their lives, without leaving any share of the merit to the Scots in Britain, who were persuaded, with the consent of the generality of strangers of those times, that they had a right and title to these ancient eminent Scots, as good and better than the Irish, from thence began those hot debates and long paper war, which hath employed the best pens of both nations within these two last centuries, to no other purpose than to expose them both to strangers by their altercations and animosities, which I would be much more inclined to contribute all I could to heal and make up than to exasperate, that being certainly more to the edification of the public, and more acceptable than all those debates to all equitable men of both nations, and to our common patron S. Patrick, for which reason I am resolved to enter as little as I can into these altercations and to content myself to call by the name of Scots those I find so called in my vouchers, leaving to those that have more leisure, the task of discussing to which of the two islands they belong, and this particularly during the four following ages that the name of Scots continued to be given to the natives of both countries. I now return to the history of S. Patrick.

A. D. 432.

XI.II. Upon S. Palladius leaving Ireland with a resolution never to return, S. Patrick, who had been particularly chosen by Almighty God for the Conversion of that island, being then in the course of his travels and studies at Auxerre in France, with the holy bishop S. German, so zealous for the British Churches, was by him^(a) sent anew to Rome, and there ordained bishop, and received mission from the Pope. The precise year in which this happened is not certain. Marianus places S. Patrick's ordination and mission A.D. 432, and ascribes it to Pope Celestine, whose death he puts off till 433. But it being certain that Pope Celestine died in April 432, and was soon after succeeded by Pope Sixtus III. who lived till A.D. 440, it is most probable that it was from Pope Sixtus that S. Patrick received both his ordination and mission for Ireland. Nothing is more edifying and apostolical than the account the Saint himself gives in his Confession or Apology of the dispositions with which he entered and carried on the work of the Gospel in that island. He abandoned^{b)} his family, renounced his nobility to serve a stranger nation; he devoted himself to God, to go and carry the knowledge of his name to the utmost bounds of the earth, resolved to endure all for the accomplishment of the work he had been called to, to bear with equanimity adversity or prosperity, and equally to render thanks to God for all that should befall to him.

These were the dispositions in which he entered Ireland to preach the Gospel to a nation which had not^(c) as yet received the knowledge of the true God, and was wholly given up to idolatry. He consecrated himself entirely to the service of a people to whom he was unknown, except in quality of a slave and captive, resolved to suffer all sort of bad treatments, persecutions, and prisons, and even to lay down his life for the Gospel with joy, if God should judge him worthy of that honour. He informs us that he was once taken up with the^(d) companions of his labours, by order of some of their kings, and all that they had, seized upon, and himself put in irons, they intending to put him to death, but that his time not being yet come, Almighty God preserving him to continue on the work to which He had called him, after a fortnight's imprisonment they were released.

He tells us, also, no doubt for the information of those that should suc-

^(a) Act. Sanctor. Bolland. ad 17 Martii.

^(b) Confessio S. Patricii, a Waræo edita, et correctius a Sociis Bollandin.

^(c) Confess. num. 18.

^(d) Ibid. n. 22.

ceed in his labours, that he took special^(a) care in the exercise of his function to avoid even the least appearance of avarice, that he would accept of no presents from the many thousands that he baptized, nor from the churchmen whom he ordained, but that on the contrary he distributed all he had among them.

A. D. 432.

In these dispositions he travelled and preached throughout all the four provinces of Ireland, beginning by that of Leinster, where having made several Conversions, he chose out from among the churchmen whom he had brought along with him, proper persons, and settled them pastors over these new Christians. From thence he passed on to Ulster, where, by his preaching and miracles, he converted many more; he was called before Leogaire the chief King of Ireland at Tara, confounded his Druids or magicians, and founded the monastery of Sabhul-Patric at Down; from Ulster he went to Connaught, and afterwards to Munster; in a word he carried the light of the Gospel into all the corners of Ireland.

The fruits of his preaching and sufferings were the Conversions of vast multitudes of people, whom he consecrated to God by baptism, and ordained pastors everywhere to baptize, instruct, and govern them; he founded monasteries for educating and forming religious men and churchmen for the service of the people; he consecrated virgins to Christ, and of these some were of the best quality in Ireland, "filii^(b) Scotorum et filie Regulorum."

Among other virgins consecrated to God by S. Patrick or his disciples, S. Brigid, so famous among the Irish and Scots, was one. Her birth is placed by Bollandus's^(c) continuators A.D. 436, and her consecration A.D. 450, she being only fourteen years of age. S. Patrick,^(d) himself, takes particular notice of the ardour with which these, even of this weaker sex, devoted themselves to Christ, by embracing the state of perpetual virginity, notwithstanding the opposition and bad usage they often met with from their parents or relations. But this, far from discouraging them, served oftentimes to augment their number.

He had no less zeal for the sanctification of the new Christians of the other sex, who resolved to leave the world, and give themselves wholly to

^(a) Confess. n. 21.

^(b) Ibid. n. 18.

^(c) Act. Sanct. Bolland.

^(d) Confess. n. 18.

A. D. 432.

God ; he had, as we observed, in his travels abroad made long abode in the most renowned monasteries of foreign countries, such as S. Martin's of Tours, those of Auxerre, and of Lérins, and others. There he had learned monastic discipline, and was the first that introduced it into our northern parts, and many of his converts embraced that way of living, for whom he founded proper mansions, as we shall see, which became the nurseries as well of bishops and pastors, as of religious men devoted to a solitary life.

But S. Patrick's care for consecrating bishops for carrying on and maintaining the work of the Gospel, is particularly remarked by all the writers of his life. Nennius,^(*) the British writer, in the beginning of the ninth age, confirms the same, and says that during the long course of his mission in Ireland, he ordained above three hundred bishops, for as many Churches that he had founded, and above three thousand priests to serve under them.

This great number of bishops said to have been ordained by S. Patrick, during the course of his mission in Ireland, and some other unusual practices that we may meet with in relation to episcopacy and church government in the earliest times of the Christianity, as well of Ireland as of the northern parts of Britain, without the bounds of the Roman empire, will no doubt appear very surprising to those that consider the discipline of the Church, as to bishop's seats, such as they were regulated by the Canons within the Empire.

XLIII. In order, therefore, to obviate the difficulties that may arise from some unusual practices in Ireland, and especially in the northern extra-provincial parts of Britain, to avoid being obliged to repeat frequently the same remarks, and to prevent objections against episcopal government in general, arising from the prejudices of some of our modern writers, I must take the freedom to make some stop here, and for once go to the bottom of this subject ; and in the first place, after endeavouring to give a true notion of Episcopacy in general, distinguish what is essential and immutable in that sacred Order, according to the institution of Christ, from what is changeable or alterable, according to the circumstances or manners of a people or nation where Episcopacy is established. In the second place, lay open the wide difference there was in primitive times in the settlement of bishops betwixt the state, manners, and circumstances of the ancient inhabitants within the several provinces of the Roman empire, and those of

(*) Nennius, c. lix.

the nations or other inhabitants that had never been subject to it, such as those of Ireland and of the northern parts of Britain beyond Antonine's wall.

A. D. 432.

I join here to the inhabitants of Ireland those of the northern parts of Britain, to wit, the Picts and Scots, (upon whose account, chiefly, I make this digression, in order to set what concerns Episcopacy in the best light I can, and to obviate the objections drawn from the singular circumstances and situation of bishops in ancient times among the Scots and Picts,) I join, I say, these three people under one consideration, first, because in ancient times, before they received Christianity, the circumstances and manners of these three people were much the same, being all three destitute of the form of polity settled within the Roman empire. Secondly, because in the earliest times, after they received the Christian faith, there was an essential connexion and conformity betwixt them (at least as great as could be betwixt the inhabitants of two different islands, and under different governments,) both in the doctrine and in the discipline of Christianity, as being all derived from the same source, that is, from the preaching and practice of S. Patrick, of his disciples, and of those that had been instructed and formed by them, as it will fully appear in the continuation of this essay.

Now in the first place, as to the nature or character of Episcopacy, or of the episcopal Order. By Episcopacy in general is understood the fulness of sacerdotal power, which Christ having received from his Eternal Father, communicated to his Apostles, appointing them his vicegerents, upon his withdrawing his visible presence from the earth, to be by them transmitted to the bishops, their Successors, and handed down by them, and preserved in his Church to his second coming.

And thus He established Episcopacy or the episcopal Order, the source of all the spiritual powers which He left towards governing, propagating, and preserving the Church, which is his spiritual kingdom upon earth, whereof He appointed the Apostles and their Successors the bishops, the supreme magistrates, with a due subordination among them, and all the powers and authority necessary for preserving faith, order, and unity, and for perpetuating his kingdom, and maintaining it against all enemies by their ministry, animated by the invisible operation of his Spirit, according to his promise to be always with the Apostles and their Successors, even to the end of the world.

Hence in the episcopal Order or Character, all inferior Orders, as well that

A. D. 432. of priesthood as the rest, are contained as in their source, and all of them derive from it that portion of the sacerdotal power they are invested with, as so many streams flowing from Episcopacy, the fountain head. Thus, when a bishop ordains a priest or deacon, he confers upon him that power that the Order he receives requires, but he still retains, if I may so say, the sovereignty or fulness of it himself.

Hence the priest, by virtue of the portion of sacerdotal power communicated to him, can give children to the Church by baptism, but cannot give Fathers to it by ordination; he can give, by baptism, the spiritual life, but cannot, by his ordinary power, give the perfection of Christianity; he can offer the Christian Sacrifice, he can forgive sins by the sacrament of penance, he can govern and feed by the Word and Sacraments the portion of the flock committed to him, and so of the other powers communicated to him by the bishop; but all of them to be exercised either by order of, or with relation to the bishop, and with dependance on him. These were the sentiments of the primitive times. That of S. Ignatius, Martyr, disciple of the apostles, is clear upon the head. "Sine^(a) episcopo nemo quidquam faciat eorum quæ ad ecclesiam spectant....Non licitum est sine episcopo, neque baptizare, neque agapen facere," &c. In fine, the dignity of the priest is sublime, but limited to himself; he cannot communicate it to others, nor convey it down beyond his own life. Whereas the bishop possesses all the sacerdotal powers, not only in a much more noble and independent manner, but can transmit them. He not only can give children to the Church, but he can give Fathers to it, which priests cannot do. This is the principal difference betwixt the Orders of bishops and priests assigned by S. Epiphanius in his book of Heresies, where he argues against the heretic Aeriuss, who, among other heresies, was the first that broached in the fourth century, this of the equality of priests to bishops.

"The Order of bishops," says this holy Father,^(b) "begets Fathers to the Church, that of priests cannot beget Fathers, it engenders only children (by the laver of regeneration) but not Fathers or Masters." In a word, the bishop contains in his Character, not only all that is necessary towards governing and preserving a Church already formed, but he alone can form new

^(a) S. Ignat. epist. ad Smyrn.

^(b) ...Ἡ γὰρ ἐστὶ πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις· πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἡ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾶν, ...τέκνα γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ μὴν πατέρας, ἡ διδασκάλους. Epiph. Heres. 75.

Churches, create pastors to them, and endue them with all powers and authority requisite to form other new Churches, and so continue down the sacred ministry to the end of the world. Thus the Church subsists and is perpetuated by the episcopal Order; and without it, it cannot continue beyond one generation. S. Hierome also, some of whose expressions are chiefly made use of by Presbyterian writers to endeavour to prove the equality of priests and bishops, doth expressly except the power of ordination. "*Quid facit,^(a) excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod non facit presbyter?*" These passages of S. Epiphanius and of S. Hierome, though they at first sight appear very simple in the expression, yet if they be duly considered and weighed, they say all, and contain a clear and full distinction betwixt the dignity of the episcopal Order and that of a simple presbyter, and a manifest proof of the superiority of the first Order over the second. For by the power of ordination, or of giving fathers and masters to the Church, as S. Epiphanius expresses it, is meant that power by which a bishop by virtue of his Character can empower, commission, or create all the spiritual magistrates or officers in the Church or kingdom of Christ, from the highest to the lowest, and convey to them, when destined to be bishops, the fullness of the sacerdotal power, or create them first ministers or chief governors in this spiritual kingdom of Christ, or if only priests or inferior ministers, convey to them that portion of the sacerdotal power that is annexed to the Character of the Order which they are to receive.

Now, as in temporal and earthly kingdoms or sovereign states, there are none but the king alone, or supreme magistrates who hold their power of God alone, that can by virtue of that power, or of their Character, create first ministers or officers of state, generals of armies, governors of provinces or of cities, and perform such other acts of sovereignty; so in the spiritual kingdom of Christ, the Church, the reserving to bishops, exclusively of priests of the second Order, the power of ordination, by which the first ministers and supreme magistrates (as well as all other officers of the Church,) are commissioned, created, and receive all their power and authority, is an evident proof of the supreme authority of bishops, derived immediately from Christ, and depending only upon Him, and of the superiority of the episcopal Character to that of priests of the second Order.

I add that the exclusion of the second Order of priests from the power

^(a) Hieronym. epist. ad Evagr.

A. D. 432. of ordination contained in those passages of S. Epiphanius and S. Hierome, and indeed in the uniform practice of all antiquity, and the reservation of that power to bishops alone, contains another essential prerogative of bishops above priests, since from this it follows that the episcopal Order is absolutely necessary for the continuing on and propagating the Church. Because, according to the authorities of these two holy Fathers, (which express the sense of the Church of all ages,) without the episcopal Order there can neither be bishops, priests, nor other ministers, and, by consequence, no authority, no power of the keys, no Christian Sacrifice, no pastors to feed the flock of Christ by the Word and Sacraments, in a word no Church at all.

Whereas a Christian Church might possibly subsist for some time by the Order of bishops and deacons, or inferior ministers without the second Order of priests, as in the opinion of some learned men,⁽¹⁾ well versed in the discipline of the Church, it did subsist in some places in the apostolical times, where we have no clear proof that the Apostles always ordained any number to the limited Character of priests of the second Order, but conferred often all at once, the plenitude of episcopal powers upon those who were sent to convert the nations, and to form Churches of their new converts.

The circumstances of the Church in those first times, seem to have often required this disposition, for all the first apostolical labourers, as well as the Apostles themselves, were destined to go out into the world to preach the Gospel, according to Christ's commission, to all men, "omni creaturæ," to form Churches of those whom they converted, and to settle pastors over them, not only to feed the flock already brought into the Church, but to propagate the Gospel in the neighbourhood, and in proportion as the number of the faithful daily augmented, to form new Churches, and give them pastors, with power equal to their own, for the more speedy propagation of the Gospel.

But, however that be, from what we have said, it follows that of all the powers contained in the plenitude of the Episcopal dignity, the power of giving Fathers to the Church, or of consecrating or ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons or ministers, is the most characteristic or distinguishing prerogative; all the rest, even that of governing, visiting, correcting, of giving Confirmation, of veiling virgins, dedicating churches, &c., though they be proper functions of a bishop, yet they may be all of them delegated

⁽¹⁾ Thomassin, de ant. Eccles. Disciplina, lib. i. c. 1.

to priests upon urgent occasions, but the power of ordaining bishops or priests can never be delegated to any not endowed with the episcopal Character; nor is there any example of its having been allowed of in all the history of the Christian Church, but, on the contrary, we find that, whenever any under the episcopal Character presumed to usurp the power of ordination, the Orders they had pretended to confer were declared null, and the usurpers, with those they had attempted to ordain, were universally condemned in the earliest times. Witness the decision of the famous case of Ischyras and Colluthus, whereof here follows a brief account, taken from authentic Acts, preserved to us by S. Athanasius.

A. D. 432.

Colluthus, a simple presbyter, having usurped the episcopal office, and in that quality conferred the Order of priesthood (among others) upon one Ischyras, a layman of Mareotis; for this reason, in a numerous Council of bishops holden, A.D. 319, at Alexandria, in which the famous Osius presided, it was enacted that this Colluthus, being only a priest, and not a true bishop, but an imaginary one, (or^(*) fancying himself to be a bishop,) should thenceforth take no other quality upon himself but that of a simple presbyter, as he truly was no more, and in consequence, that all his ordinations were null, and those he had ordained reduced to their former condition, and among others, Ischyras declared no presbyter, though he had valued himself upon that quality, by virtue of a pretended ordination from Colluthus. Thus in substance the public Acts set down by S. Athanasius in his Apology.

It is, I conceive, of the last importance for all our countrymen of the Presbyterian way to consider seriously with themselves whether or not this judgment passed by the great Osius, in so early times, and in so numerous a Council, recorded by S. Athanasius, doth not at least equally level at all the pretended ordinations of ministers of the Word and Sacraments, derived from the Knoxian ordinations, made by laymen, or, at most, by simple presbyters, at our Scottish Reformation, and from thence continued down upon the same footing, till our times.

And in order to put this synodical judgment in a better light, it is of consequence to add here to it, the judgment that the historian Socrates, speaking the sense of the Church of his time, A.D. 439, makes of this Ischyras's taking upon him the quality and office of priest, without a true

(*) (Ἰσχυράς) οὐκ ἐστὶ πρεσβύτερος· ἔπο γὰρ Κολλουθὸν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου φαντασθέντος ἐπισκοπήν.—κ. τ. λ. Libella Clericor. Mareotic. in Apologia S. Athanasii relat. tom. ii. Concil. General. edit. Cossart et Labbe, pp. 458-459.

A. D. 432. episcopal ordination, having received his ordination only from Colluthus, an imaginary bishop.

"A^(a) man of that country, (says Socrates, speaking of Mareotis,) called Ischyra, did a thing (i. e. committed a crime) which deserved to be punished by more than one death, for he had the boldness to take upon him the name, and to exercise the sacred functions of a priest, though he had never been initiated to the priesthood." Such authorities as these, containing the sense of so early times upon the necessity of episcopal ordination, need not great discussion, but only to be seriously laid to heart by all whom it concerns.

By all we have said, I hope it sufficiently appears that the power of ordination is the most essential prerogative of the episcopal Character, and the most inseparable from it.

For which reason, all that I shall have occasion to say of the necessity of bishops, in the northern parts of Britain in ancient times, and of the impossibility of a Christian Church its subsisting without the ministry of bishops, is chiefly to be understood of the power of ordination. All other episcopal powers and functions have their exceptions; the power of ordination hath none, but is essentially annexed to the episcopal Character, and incommunicable to any other.

So that without the bishop's ministry, as I have already often observed, according to the constant uniform practice of the Christian Church, there can be neither bishops, or priests, or any proper ministers of the Word and Sacraments, no spiritual government that binds to obedience, no power of the keys, &c., in a word no Church. Thus episcopal authority is essential to it

XLIV. But whether the bishop have a fixed district, or govern at large, whether he have a proper seat, or travel about from place to place, whether he have the inspection and government of one whole people, nation, or kingdom, or only of a portion of it, whether in the exercise of his functions he subject himself, out of humility, to any other, whom he judges superior in sanctity and prudence to himself, (though of an inferior Character) and takes directions from him, or exerts upon all occasions the superiority of his power, which depends upon God alone, whether he have fixed revenues,

^(a) *Εν δὲ τῷ Μαρειῳτᾷ τούτῳ Ἰσχύρας τις οὕτω καλουμένος, πρῶτα ὑπὲρ πολλῶν θανάτων ἄξιον· οὐδὲ ποπότε γὰρ ἱεροσύνης τυχών τὸ του πρεσβυτέρου ὄνομα ἐαυτῷ περιβέμενος, τα ἱερῶς πράττειν ἐτόλμησε.* Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 27. edit. Vales. p. 64.

or subsist upon the labour of his own hands, or upon the charity of the faithful, all these things may vary according to times, places, and other circumstances, but the episcopal Character is still the same. The history of the Church furnishes us with examples of bishops in all these circumstances; but without the power of ordination, there can be none, nor was it ever allowed to exercise it without the episcopal Character.

A. D. 432.

Thus we find in the monuments of the Church many bishops at large. The Apostles and apostolical men were generally such. We find, also, regionary bishops, who had no fixed districts or dioceses; such were those who, in the seventh, eighth, or ninth ages, converted the nations of the northern continent; S. Amand, S. Suibert, Willebrod, Willehad, &c., and in Germany, Boniface and Kilian; and all those (for the same reason as the first twelve Apostles and apostolical men,) looking upon themselves as called, not barely to govern a particular flock, but to propagate the Gospel, to erect new Churches, and settle proper bishops in them. And sometimes they themselves at last fixed their residence or seat in some one of the cities or towns they had converted. Among the regionary bishops may be also reckoned several bishops of Little Britany, such as Samson, Leonor, Maclou or Malo, who all of them at first exercised their episcopal functions through the country at large, though they afterwards choosed fixed residences, which by degrees came to be held for bishops' seats, and to have a determined precinct or diocese.

But what is chiefly to the present purpose, we find also, in the same ecclesiastical monuments, bishops of whole nations, countries, or kingdoms. Such were Moyses, bishop of the Saracens; Britannion, bishop of the Scythians; Frumentius, bishop of the Æthiopians, or Abyssinians; Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths, and others; but all of them without the bounds of the Roman empire.

All these usages, how different soever they appear from those of later times in Catholic or Christian countries, or even from those of ancient times, within the bounds of the Roman empire, all these usages, I say, make no real difference in the episcopal Character, much less do other differences of lesser moment betwixt bishops of ancient times and those in more modern, such as that those ancient bishops had neither stately churches, nor fixed revenue, nor numerous attendants or trains, but were often reduced to great straits, sometimes forced to earn their bread with the labour of their hands, according to the apostolical model. For example, Spiridon

A. D. 432. of Trimithunte, keeping his own sheep, was as true, and as great a bishop, and as much respected, as any that sat in the great Council of Nice.

I insist upon this, because we meet with examples of these different usages in ancient times among bishops in Ireland, and more yet in the northern parts of Britain, and this chiefly, because they lived without the bounds of the empire, in countries where the Roman government had never penetrated, nor their discipline and polity ever been in use.

For the chief occasion of the variety we meet with in the exterior discipline of episcopacy, was the circumstances and manners of the inhabitants where it was established. For hence the difference we find in ancient times of the situation of bishops within and without the Roman empire.

This whole empire was, in the time of Constantine the Great, (who first gave full liberty to the Christian religion), divided into four great districts, or prefectures, and each of these governed by chief magistrates, called prefects. Each province contained so many towns or cities, whereof the capital was called metropolitan, and had a magistrate with jurisdiction over all the province and rest of the cities. Each city had its proper magistrates. The cities were generally built of stone, and had each within its precinct, public edifices for their civil and religious assemblies. Of all which there are still stately remains, or ruins, to be seen in many provinces, or countries which had been subject to the empire, whilst it stood.

This disposition or polity served, in the order of Divine Providence, for the speedy progress of the Gospel throughout the bounds of the empire, and became a general plan for settling episcopal seats in due subordination, by degrees, as the light of the Gospel spread itself through the provinces. It was natural to settle a bishop as the chief spiritual magistrate in each city, and among the bishops of the province, the bishop of the chief city or metropolis, was of course entitled to have jurisdiction over the rest, by the name of metropolitan, or archbishop; and the city of Rome, being the chief of all others, and the centre of the empire, it was by a special order of Divine^(a) Providence, that S. Peter, appointed by our Lord himself the first and chief of the Apostles, was directed by the Spirit of God to place in that city his fixed seat, which was to be in all after ages the chief seat, and centre of unity in the Church of Christ, and head of the episcopal college,

^(a) *Beatissimus Petrus Princeps apostolici ordinis, ad arcem Romani destinatur imperii; ut lux veritatis quæ in omnium gentium revelabatur salutem, efficacius se ab ipso capite per totum mundi corpus effunderet.* S. Leo, Sermon. 80.

with a far greater^(a) extent of spiritual jurisdiction, than it ever had of civil authority at the greatest height of its power and dominion.

A. D. 432.

As to the countries without the bounds of the empire, such as Ireland and the northern parts of Britain, we have no account of any such civil polity. The government was indeed monarchical in Ireland, and among the Picts and Scots in Britain. Ireland was also divided into four provinces, as we are told, to wit, Leinster, Ulster, Munster, and Connaught; in each of which was a little king, as they relate, and under him several chiefs, or heads of clans, who took also sometimes the title of kings. But all this, depending more upon force and violence than upon any laws or regulation of polity, was not lasting or uniform.

But we have no certain account of any considerable town, either in Ireland, before the invasion of the Danes in the eighth or ninth age, nor in the northern parts of Britain, without the bounds of the empire, that is, beyond the northern wall. Nor have there been found, by the most diligent enquirers, any considerable ruins or remains (except of Roman works) in the north of Britain. No conspicuous ruins, for example, are to be seen^(b) at Tara, the chief seat of the kings of Ireland; nor at Abernethy in the north of Britain, though it was once the chief city^(c) of the Picts, and the ordinary dwelling-place of their kings. The chief reason of this is, that whereas within the empire the houses were generally built of stone, in Ireland, and in our northern parts, in the times we speak of, and long afterwards, they were made only of wood, interwoven with the branches of trees.

The Danes, upon their invasions into Ireland, in the eighth and ninth age, made the first stone buildings. But the natives as yet, in the twelfth age, looked even upon churches of stone as an unusual novelty, and scarce could bear the sight^(d) of them.

Stone buildings were certainly long before that in use, at least for churches, among the Picts in the north of Britain, since we find that, A.D. 715, Naitan,^(e) king of the Picts, in his message to Ceolfred, abbot of Were-

^(a) (Roma) per sacram Benti Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius præsideres religione Divina quam dominatione terrena. S. Leo, Sermon. 80.

—Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis,
Religione tenet.

^(b) Ware, Ant. Hibern. p. 111.

^(c) Nunc fuit ille locus (Abernethy) Principalis Regalis et Pontificalis per aliqua tempora totius Regni Pictorum. Lib. Paslet. in Biblioth. Reg. Lond. MS. lib. iv. c. 12.

^(d) Ware, ubi supra.

^(e) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 21.

A. D. 432. — mouth, among other commissions, prayed the abbot to send him architects to build a church in his kingdom after the Roman manner, promising to cause dedicate it to the honour of S. Peter, and accordingly Ceolfred complied with his desires, and sent him architects. But it seems the use of stone building was not received among the Scots, even for their churches, as far down as about A.D. 652. When Finan^(a) succeeded to Aidan, bishop of the northern Saxons, he built a church in the Isle of Lindisfarne becoming the episcopal see, that is, a cathedral church, the which, nevertheless, after the manner of the Scots, he made not of stone, but of hewed oak, and covered it with reeds, &c.: from this it appears that hitherto the Scots had not commonly churches of stone, much less their ordinary houses, which, both in Ireland and the north of Britain, were built of wood, and being soon made up, were sooner overturned or consumed with fire, so as no conspicuous ruins of them were to be seen.

XIV. This being premised concerning episcopacy in general, and the disposition and circumstances of the inhabitants of Ireland, and of those of the northern parts of Britain, without the bounds of the empire, I return to the account I had begun of the progress of the Gospel, and of the settlement of the ecclesiastical discipline and government among these people.

When the first preachers of the Gospel appeared in these countries, the people flocked to hear them, partly by a secret impression of Divine Providence, partly by curiosity, being touched by their instructions, by their miracles, and by the singularity and sanctity of their lives: great numbers were more easily converted than their kings or rulers generally made no violent opposition, and though their Druids, who were really magicians and the ministers of their heathen worship, both in Britain and Ireland, foreseeing the ruin of their superstitions, and decay of their interests, and of the respect paid to them by the people, excited sometimes their kings or princes to persecute the preachers of the Gospel, who were, by their instigation, exposed thus to be maltreated, and even imprisoned, (as we have observed that S. Patrick was^(b)) yet we have no account of any martyrs, or of any put to death for the profession of Christianity, either in Ireland, or in the northern parts of Britain in these first times, nor of any general persecution of the Christian pastors or people; and the number of those that embraced

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 25.

^(b) Supra, XLII.

A. D. 432.

Christianity augmented so suddenly, by the Conversion of their kings and leaders, that they were in a short time out of danger of being oppressed by those that remained obstinate in idolatry. As the number of those that embraced the Gospel daily augmented, it was necessary to provide them speedily with pastors to instruct and govern those new converts; for this reason, S. Patrick and their other first preachers were obliged to abridge the usual long trials and interstices, practised in Churches already formed, according to the discipline of the Canons, in regard of those that were to be advanced to the different degrees of the Christian priesthood. This order and discipline required that there should be proper places and masters set apart for the education of those destined to the functions of the sacred ministry. Nothing of this could be supposed to have been hitherto in Ireland, but in order to it, S. Patrick being perfectly well acquainted, in his travels abroad, with the numerous congregations of Religious men living under a Superior and rules, which he had seen in foreign parts, and being himself inured to their way of living, by the abode he made at Tours, Auxerre, Lerins, and elsewhere, he endeavoured to inspire the same spirit into his first disciples, as the most conformable to the rules of Christian perfection, which recommends nothing more than solitude and forsaking the cares and affairs of the world, attended with set times of prayer and the study and meditation of the Holy Scriptures, supported by a laborious penitential life. To men in these dispositions and circumstances, the founding a monastery or seminary of piety and learning, such as the circumstances of the times and of the country required, was a short task. Among the first converts made by S. Patrick, there were always some men of great estates, such as their lesser kings, and heads of tribes or clans, who had large territories. Some of these, in order to propagate religion, failed not to make over parcels of ground fit for building a monastery, and the buildings and houses being all made of wood, in a country abounding with forests, and the penitential life which his disciples had embraced, rendering all of them that were healthy as many workmen, under the direction of such of them as had been bred to that rude kind of architecture, a church and a monastery were soon erected. And in order to form these new converts, to piety and such a degree of learning as the times allowed, of the multitudes that embraced Christianity, S. Patrick, by the Spirit of God, selected those among them in whom he observed more piety, zeal, and more capacity. These he instructed by himself more particularly in the doctrines of faith, and rules of

A. D. 432. a Christian life; but the natives being as yet ignorant of letters, the Saint was obliged to accompany his religious instructions with teaching them the first elements of literature, to render them capable to read the Holy Scriptures, and such other books as he had brought along with him, or caused to be sent from abroad for their further instruction.

We have elsewhere^(a) treated of the ignorance of letters which was common to the inhabitants of Ireland in ancient times, as well as to the other northern people without the bounds of the Roman empire, and before their Conversion to Christianity. To remedy this, which was a great hindrance to the progress of the Gospel, the first apostles of these nations were obliged to become their first masters, as well in the elements of letters as in the doctrines of religion. This, we have observed,^(b) was the practice of the holy bishop S. Ninian among the midland Britons and the southern Picts. The historian Socrates^(c) remarks that the bishop Ulphilas was the first master of the Goths, both in religion and in letters. Accordingly, Nennius^(d) and Tirechan, the two most ancient writers that remain of S. Patrick's life, inform us that he wrote alphabets for his disciples, and taught them to read. And no doubt he himself, or his first disciples, that he had brought along with him from Gaul and from Britain, taught those among his converts in whom he found more talents and disposition to understand the Latin tongue, as being in those times the more general language in use over all the Roman empire, to enable them by that means to understand the Holy Scriptures, the Canons, and other writings of the holy Fathers, thereby to improve themselves by their own private study in a farther knowledge of the doctrine and discipline of the Church; and from among those the Saint chose the more advanced for Superiors or Directors of his new monasteries, and advanced some of them to the episcopal degree, in order to propagate religion in the adjacent places.

In proportion as the Gospel was propagated through the different provinces and cantons, new monasteries of this kind were founded, built, and planted with new colonies. And thus the monastic discipline was introduced and propagated in Ireland by S. Patrick, who, for that reason,^(e) is

^(a) Crit. Essay, pp. 440, 441, &c.

^(b) Supra, XXXIV.

^(c) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 33.

^(d) Ware, de Scriptor. Hibern. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 103.

^(e) Mabillon, Annal. Benedictin. tom. i. p. 207.

justly owned the first that brought in that way of living to our northern parts. But it is to be observed that in his time, monasteries, especially those governed by bishops, were not barely retreats of religious persons or monks, in a strict sense, who having renounced to the world, consecrated themselves to a solitary life, but were the seminaries of churchmen and bishops, according to the intention of S. Patrick, who formed them upon the models he had copied in Gaul, especially on the great monastery founded by S. Martin at Tours, and on that of Lerins, founded by S. Honorat, out of both which most of the greatest and most famous bishops of the Gauls were taken, during the fifth and sixth ages. In like manner the monasteries founded by S. Patrick became the nurseries of bishops and of the clergy of all degrees.

A. D. 432.

The edification which the pious behaviour and regularity of the inhabitants of these religious houses gave to all that heard of them, drew multitudes of people to frequent them, and profit by their examples and instructions, and for greater conveniency, they began to erect for themselves dwellings in the neighbourhood; these small beginnings grew up afterwards, by degrees, into towns, and this was the first origin of the most part of episcopal seats and towns in Ireland, in the northern parts of Britain, and of severals of those in Wales, as well as in Little Britany. A bishop being consecrated, and settled in them, but at first without any limited district, which could not be fixed whilst the Conversion of the country was as yet carrying on, and each bishop endeavouring to spread the light of the Gospel in all adjacent places and regions around, in proportion as any new canton was brought into Christianity, a new monastery was settled with a church, a bishop, and a religious society to be formed to piety and learning under the eye of the bishop (as we have already observed) for the service of the people. For there not being as yet, nor long after this, any parish churches set up, each one with a proper priest or pastor, the Bishop or other Superior of these monasteries or seminaries, when they could not go themselves, sent out priests through the country to instruct, baptize, and administrate the other sacraments to the country people.

This was the practice in more ancient times, not only in Ireland, and in the north of Britain, but even^(a) in the more polished parts of the south of the island, where we are told that Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury,

^(a) Concil. Anglic. Spelman, tom. i. p. 152.

A. D. 432. was the first that divided the country into parishes, after the middle of the seventh age; and we do not find in the three^(a) first ages that parish churches with proper pastors, were anywhere as yet in the Church commonly set up, at least through the country, with a power of giving baptism, celebrating the holy Mysteries, and absolving penitents, all which functions are generally reserved to the bishop in those first ages, except in cases of necessity; and all the priests assisted the bishops in the solemn assemblies, where the Christian Sacrifice was offered up, and were always ready at his disposal, to be sent abroad where the spiritual needs of the faithful required.

XLVI. By what we have said, appears, First, the reason of the great number of bishops said to have been consecrated by S. Patrick in Ireland, the circumstances of that infant Church requiring that in the course of his preaching the Gospel, and converting the inhabitants, for the speedy progress of the Gospel, he should give the fulness of sacerdotal power to the best qualified pastors whom he settled in the several cantons; besides that, during the course of about sixty years assigned by the writers of his life to his episcopal administration, many of the first bishops dying, he was obliged to consecrate others in their place. However, it is otherwise certain, that there was anciently in Ireland an unusual number of bishops, even long after S. Patrick's time. Wardæus,⁽¹⁾ in his dissertation on the life of S. Rumold, reckons up, from ancient monuments, about one hundred bishops in Ireland,^(b) marking each of their seats. S. Bernard,^(c) in the life of S. Malachy, informs us that the custom of multiplying bishops had prevailed to that degree in Ireland, that in S. Malachy's time, (that is, in the beginning of the twelfth century,) there was a bishop almost in every Church, the number being augmented as the Metropolitan thought fit. This was, no doubt, an abuse, as S. Bernard observes it was; but though the bishopricks of Ireland were afterwards reduced by the Legate Paparo,^(d) A.D. 1152, to a more regular number, and have been diminished by other reductions or unions of bishopricks, yet the number still remains greater in Ireland than in Britain, in proportion to the extent of these islands. Second, from what we have said of the nature of the buildings in Ireland, their

^(a) Thomassin, *Disciplina. Eccles.* tom. i. lib. i.

⁽¹⁾ [Hugh Ward, an Irish Franciscan of Louvain.]

^(b) *Vita Rumoldi*, pp. 158, 159, &c.

^(c) In *Hibernia singule pene Ecclesie singulos habent episcopos, multiplicatos ad arbitrium Metropolitanum.* Bernard. *Vita S. Malachie.*

^(d) Ware, *Ant. Hibern.* c. xvi. p. 83.

being anciently made not of stone but of wood, both their churches and houses, it follows that the accounts we meet with of bishops, both of Ireland and of the northern parts of Britain, their residing in ancient times in places where at present there appear no marks or remains of towns, cities, or monasteries, are not merely to be looked upon for that reason as groundless, for a number of wooden houses were soon consumed, so as no mark of them, after some ages, remained.

A. D. 432.

XLVII. We have already observed, that in Ireland, no more than in other countries without the bounds of the Empire, it was neither expedient nor possible that the districts or dioceses of the bishops could be fixed but by degrees and in length of time. However, if we could depend upon the Canons and Councils, attributed to S. Patrick, it would seem that he had begun, even in his own time, to settle by degrees this canonical discipline, as far as the circumstances of the country afforded opportunity. But though I doubt not but that S. Patrick, having been himself instructed in his rules of canonical discipline by the best masters whom he frequented in his travels abroad, would endeavour to settle this, and other parts of the ecclesiastical discipline, particularly that of holding of Councils, so much recommended by the Canons, yet when I consider the circumstances of Ireland in his time, and the style of some of these Canons, I am apt to think that the Councils and Canons that we have under S. Patrick's name (and which are certainly very ancient), are to be looked upon rather as an imperfect scheme of the discipline and regulations that were in use in Ireland during the first ages of the Christianity of the Irish, than the proper work of S. Patrick, and that they were afterwards attributed to S. Patrick, not only in order to give them more weight and authority, but because they were the most ancient regulations of the Christian Churches settled by S. Patrick and his disciples in Ireland: in the same manner as we see that the first collection of Canons is attributed to the Apostles, and bears their name, "*Canones Apostolorum*," not that the Apostles themselves were the immediate authors of them in the form and style that we have them, but (according to the judgment of the learned) because these Canons contain the sum of the ecclesiastical discipline in use and practice in the first three ages after the Apostles' times.

Now, as to the remains we have of collections of Irish Canons, besides the M.S. copies, of which Father D'Achery^(*) hath published a large ex-

(*) D. Lucæ Dacherii M. B. Spicileg. vet. Scriptor. tom. i. p. 491. edit. Paris, 1723, folio.

A. D. 432. tract, there are still extant the Canons of two Councils, attributed to S. Patrick, and said to have been holden about A.D. 450. The one of which, with S. Patrick's own name, is inscribed also with those of two other bishops, Auxilius and Iaserninus.

The Canons of both these Councils were first published, A.D. 1656, by Waræus^(a) among the works of S. Patrick, and they were afterwards inserted in the great Collection of Councils, by Father Labbe.^(b)

By the first of these Councils it appears : First, That^(c) the clergy, even those in inferior Orders, were fixed to certain churches, and vagabond clerks forbidden : Second, That a virgin^(d) consecrated to God was accounted an adulteress if she married, and was debarred the Holy Communion, till she forsook the adulterer and did penance : Third, That when a new^(e) church was erected, the Holy Sacrifice could not be offered in it, till first it was consecrated by the Bishop : Fourth, That no^(f) church could be erected, nor any stranger bishop or priest administrate any Sacraments in it without leave of the Bishop of the place. By these last Canons it appears, that by the time these Canons were made the country was begun to be distributed into districts or dioceses.

In the other Council it is statuted among other regulations : First, That excommunicated^(g) persons be debarred from the Communion, from Mass, and from the kiss of peace (a Communionem et Missam et pacem) : Second, That if any of the clergy fell into a grievous^(h) sin, he was to be deprived of the exercise of all functions, retaining only the name or title of his Order : Third, That the Holy Sacrifice⁽ⁱ⁾ was offered for the deceased : Fourth, That if any one^(k) took upon him the clerical functions without being chosen to it by a bishop, that is, without episcopal ordination, he was to be condemned and degraded.

There are many other Canons in these two Councils, but the copies whence they were taken, besides their barbarous style, were so depraved, that some of them can scarce be made sense of. It appears, by several other Canons that bear the name of S. Patrick, that there must have been

^(a) Ware, Opuse. S. Patricii, p. 31-42.

^(b) Labbe, Concil. General. tom. iii. p. 1477-1481.

^(c) Can. 2, 3.

^(d) Can. 17.

^(e) Can. 23.

^(f) Can. 24, 30, 33.

^(g) Can. 4.

^(h) Can. 10.

⁽ⁱ⁾ Can. 12.

^(k) Can. 16.

other Councils, said to be holden by him and his fellow-labourers during the long course of his episcopal ministry. A. D. 432.

The reason why I take so much notice of this and other remains of the discipline settled by S. Patrick in Ireland, is particularly because the same doctrine and discipline first established by him in that island, were by his disciples and their successors introduced and settled in the northern parts of Britain, among the Scots and Picts. And besides that King Fergus, son of Erc, the first king of the Scots, and the other Scots that came into Britain with him, towards the end of this fifth and beginning of the sixth century, both churchmen and military men, had been all converted or instructed in Ireland by S. Patrick and his disciples, the writers of his life give us sufficient ground to believe that he himself preached in the north of Britain to the Scots.

XLVIII. They give a clear account of his preaching to the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, called anciently Eubonia, and sometimes Mona, but entirely distinguished from Anglesey, called also sometimes Mona. S. Patrick having converted the Isle of Man, settled in it a bishop's^(a) seat, and consecrated Germanus for their first bishop. To Germanus succeeded Conindrus, who had for his successor Romulus, and after him Machael, or Machaldus, was Bishop of Man. The same writers relate that S. Patrick preached the Gospel in the other isles also, and having converted the inhabitants, he placed bishops in each of them, and that his custom was to place bishops not only in towns, but in lesser places (*non solum in urbibus sed in oppidis*) to the end that the faithful might not be deprived of the benefit of Confirmation. These islands were chiefly those betwixt Scotland and Ireland. Now Orosius having informed us about the beginning of the fifth century that these islands were inhabited by Scots, who were begun long before these times to have dwellings in the north-western parts of the mainland of Britain, it cannot be reasonably doubted but S. Patrick's pastoral care was extended to these Scots of Britain as well as to those of Ireland, he being, as S. Palladius had been, destined to be the Apostle of the nation of the Scots in general wherever they dwelt, though his chief vocation was to those of Ireland, whose Conversion had been, by a particular order of Divine Providence, reserved to him. Nor can it be reasonably

^(a) Jocelin. Vit. Patric. c. xciii; Probus, Vit. Patric. lib. ii. c. 11: apud Colgan. Triad. Thaumaturg.

A. D. 432. doubted but S. Patrick, who looked upon settling everywhere bishops, as the chief means of propagating the Gospel, in proportion as the Conversion of the Scots in Britain advanced, failed not to send bishops to them, as being absolutely necessary towards preserving and perpetuating Christianity, since it could not subsist without the sacred ministry which, without a bishop, could not outlast one man's life.

I have insisted the longer upon S. Patrick's apostolical labours in planting the Gospel in Ireland, and upon the means he made use of for carrying it on, as a necessary introduction for clearing the way and putting in a better light the propagating the Gospel among the Scots in Britain, and planting it among the northern Picts in the following age. We must now return to the civil transactions that passed betwixt the remains of the provincial Britons and those northern nations.

XLIX. After the victory, whereof we have already^(a) given an account, which the Britons, in a miraculous manner, by the repetition of the word "Alleluia," and by the prayers of the bishops SS. German and Lupus, gained over the Picts and other nations of the north, these holy men being returned to Gaul, the Scots and Picts broke in again upon the Britons and ravaged their country.

Bede relates^(b) from Gildas, that the Britons, under these pressures, applied once more to the Romans for aid, and sent to the Consul Aetius, the groans of the Britons, "gemitus Britonum," (as Gildas calls them.) that is, an account of their miserable circumstances, informing him that the Barbarians (so they call the Scots and Picts) drove them to the sea, and the sea drove them back to the Barbarians; so we are, say they, exposed either to be drowned or slaughtered.

But the Romans were at this time in no condition to assist them, having then the Huns, Goths, and other enemies to oppose. So the Britons, despairing of any hopes of human assistance, began to enter into themselves,^(c) to reform their lives, and to apply to Almighty God, who had compassion on them, and inspired them with courage to return upon their enemies and encounter them. Upon which the Hiberni, that is, the people (called as yet promiscuously, by Gildas and Bede, by the names of Hiberni or Scoti,) returned home, that is, those of them that were already settled in

^(a) *Supra*, XXXVIII.

^(b) *Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 13.*

^(c) *Gildas, c. xix. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 14.*

Britain, passed home to their own dwellings in and about Argyle, and in the north-western coasts or isles of Britain. But those that were only adventurers, that had come over from Ireland, either as auxiliaries to the Scots of Britain, or only to prey upon, or carry off captives from the Britons, most of them returned home again to Ireland, others remained with their friends in the north of Britain, ready to march with them and the Picts upon a new expedition, as it hath been elsewhere^(*) shown.

L. As to the Picts ceasing also at the same time to pursue the Britons and their retiring back, Gildas and Bede express this retreat in the following words, "*Picti in extremâ parte insule, tum primum et deinceps requieverunt.*" The Picts then, for the first time, and from thenceforth, remained quiet in the extremity of the island. These words "the extremities of the island of Britain," taken in general, are the subject of a contestation, because they are susceptible of two different interpretations. The one is, that by "Britain," or the "island of Britain," may be meant the whole island, including all from the most southern parts to the extremities of the north, both the provincial and extra-provincial parts of Britain, and in that sense "the extremity of Britain" would denote the most northern part of all the island. The other interpretation is, that by "Britain," may be understood those parts only of the island that had been included in the Roman dominions, which in their greatest extent reached no farther north than Antonine's wall, betwixt the friths of Clyde and Forth; in this sense by "the extremity of Britain" is meant the more northern parts of Roman Britain, terminated by the northern wall betwixt the friths; in a word, that part of the island which made formerly the Roman province of Valentia, bounded by the southern and northern walls. Now, to pretend that the meaning of Gildas and of Bede here was, that the Picts in their retreat, about A.D. 447, settled "for the first time" in the northern parts or extremities of Britain, taking it in the first sense, that is, for all the island, as if they had not been settled in the northern parts of Britain before this time, were visibly to put Gildas and Bede in contradiction, not only with all the most certain accounts that we have of the Picts, but even with themselves, since nothing is more certain in history, as we have seen all along hitherto, than that the Caledonians or Picts were long before this, and time out of mind, in possession of the northern extremities

(*) Crit. Essay, pp. 658, 659.

A. D. 447. of the island of Britain, and particularly that, according^(a) to Bede, they were the most ancient or first known inhabitants of those parts of that island.

This supposed, it follows in course that the second interpretation alone can take place here, and that by Britain, in this passage of Gildas and Bede, must be understood that part only of the island that was bordered by Antonine's wall, betwixt Clyde and Forth, and not all the island. And this is conformable to other passages of these writers, as when they relate that the Picts and Scots, their invading the Britons after the building of the last wall, and the Romans returning home, A.D. 429, with a resolution to come no more to their assistance; upon this, says Bede,^(b) after Gildas, the Scots and Picts possessed themselves, instead of the native inhabitants, of all the northern and farthest part of the island up to the wall, "*omnem aquilonalem extremamque insulæ partem muro tenuis capessunt*," where it is visible that, at least, the Picts took possession of the British province called Valentia, which was the most northern and farthest part of Britain, according to an expression usual in Bede, and other ancient writers, who give the name of Britain to that part of the island which the Romans possessed and surrounded with walls, and looked upon what lay beyond the friths of Clyde and Forth as another island. Thus Tacitus,^(c) speaking of Agricola's progress to these friths, says, "*inventus est in Britannia terminus*:" and adds for a reason of his calling those friths the extremities of Britain, that by his fortifying the pass betwixt those two friths, the enemies were driven out into Caledonia, as into another island: "*Submotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus*." And Bede, speaking of that part only of the island, which the Romans possessed, and surrounded with a wall, calls it, all Britain, "*totam*^(d) *Britanniam*," and the island of Britain, "*Britanniam insulam*."^(e)

By all this I hope it is manifest, that, by the extremities of the island of Britain, where, according to Gildas and Bede, the Picts retired about A.D. 447, and for the first time fixed their habitation, or rather lay quiet in them, must necessarily be understood, the extremities of Roman Britain only, or the province of Valentia, whereof the Picts had been so often in possession before, and as often forced out by the Romans, till now that the

^(a) Crit. Essay, pp. 48, 49.

^(b) Gildas, c. xv. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12.

^(c) Vit. Agric. c. lxxxii.

^(d) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 2.

^(e) Ibid. lib. iii. c. 22.

Romans having for ever abandoned the island, the Picts took a lasting possession, at least of all the eastern parts of that province bordered by the Gulf of Forth. For I suppose some of the Britons remained still in possession of the western parts of Valentia, bordered by the Gulf of Clyde, and remained masters of the impregnable rock of Alclud, and of the adjacent countries, as well as of what was afterwards called Galloway, as it will afterwards appear.

A. D. 447

Gildas and Bede adjoin to the passage which we have endeavoured to explain, the following words, “*prædas^(a) et contritiones de Britonum gente nonnunquam facientes;*” by which we are informed, that, though the Britons had abandoned to the Picts the eastern part of the province of Valentia, afterwards called Pictland, and left the Picts in quiet possession of these fertile territories, hoping by that means to keep them from invading the more southern parts of their country, upon the same motives that had engaged the Romans and the Britons, A.D. 426, to content themselves to build the last wall in Northumberland, and abandon to the Picts those same territories of Valentia, as hath been elsewhere^(b) observed: yet this new compliance of the Britons had its effect only for some time, and the Picts remained quiet and ceased from invading the Britons beyond the Northumbrian wall only till a new opportunity presented itself, which at last proved the ruin of the Britons, of which we are now to give an account.

LI. The Britons, after the retreat of the Scots and Picts, and by the surrender they had made to the Picts of the eastern territories of Valentia, enjoyed for some time^(c) peace and quiet, and upon that ensued a great plenty, which the Britons, forgetful of their past misfortune, abusing to luxury and giving themselves to all sorts of vices, they were punished with a dismal plague, which brought a great desolation on their country, whereof their old enemies, the Picts, joined with the Scots, resolved to take advantage, embraced this opportunity to invade them again and subdue them. The rumour of their preparations so terrified the Britons, that, not knowing to what hand to turn themselves for help, they, with their infatuated king, Vortigern, resolved to call over into Britain the Saxons, a foreign people, from Germany, to assist them to defend their country from the Picts and the Scots.

^(a) Gildas, c. xix.^(b) *Supra*, XXXVI.^(c) Gildas, c. xix. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 14.

A. D. 449.

The Saxons^(a) received the invitation with great joy, and embarking their forces under the conduct of Hengist and Horsa, their leaders, landed in the island of Thanet. The coming in of the Saxons to Britain is reckoned to have happened A.D. 449, or 450. Soon after their arrival they marched northwards by Vortigern's order, and, in conjunction with the Britons, fought with the enemies and defeated them. Huntingdon^(b) informs us that this first encounter betwixt the Saxons, joined to the Britons, and the Picts and Scots, was at Stanford in Lincolnshire, in the heart of England, by which we see how much masters of the south of England these northern enemies were become. The Saxons failed not to acquaint their countrymen abroad of the success of their arms, of the fertility of the country of Britain, and of the indolence of the Britons; upon which a more considerable fleet was sent over with a greater power of Saxons, who, being added to the former numbers, made up an invincible army. These new comers received of the gift of the Britons a place to inhabit, upon condition that they should wage war against their enemies for the peace and security of the country, and the Britons should give the soldiers their pay.

LII. Bede^(c) gives here an account of the nations from whence these first Saxons came into Britain, and posterior English writers^(d) have treated the subject more at length; to these I remit for the particulars concerning these nations. Bede adds that swarms of Saxons hasting over into the island, this new come people began to increase to that degree that they became terrible to the natives themselves, who had called them, that at last, of auxiliaries becoming enemies, to fortify themselves the more. they entered into a league with the Picts, whom they had by this time^(e) drove to a greater distance by force of arms, and began to turn their weapons against the Britons their confederates. At first, they obliged them to furnish greater plenty of provisions, and, seeking an occasion to fall out, they protested that unless greater store of provisions were brought them they would break the confederacy and ravage all the island; nor were they backward in putting their threats in execution. In short, the fire kindled by the hands of these infidels proved God's just revenge for the crimes of the

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 15.

^(b) Huntingdon, lib. ii. [Mon. Hist. Brit. vol. i. p. 707.]

^(c) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 15.

^(d) Ussher, Ant. Brit. pp. 208, 209, &c.

^(e) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 15.

A. D. 449.

people: not unlike that which, lighted by the Chaldeans, consumed the walls and other buildings of Jerusalem. For the wicked conquerors in the same manner, or rather the just Judge so permitting it, plundered all the neighbouring cities and country, and carried on the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea; in short, they destroyed all, sacred and profane, slew or put to flight the ancient inhabitants, whereof some of the miserable remains being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps: others with fearful hearts fled to countries beyond sea. Others continuing in Britain, full of dread, led a poor life on mountains, in woods, and on craggy rocks. Among other retreats to which the Britons fled for refuge, one of the safest was to their countrymen, the remains of the *Maates*, or midland Britons, the ancient inhabitants of the western territories betwixt the southern and northern walls, and who (since the coming in of the Picts, and their settlement, as we have seen, on the south side of the Forth,) had retired most part towards the west, to Clydesdale and Galloway, and there had set up a little kingdom, whereof the chief seat was that impregnable rock, or fortress, called *Alclud*, and which, from the long habitation of the Britons in these parts, is still known by the name of *Dunbritton*.

It was in and about this place that the northern wall terminated towards the west, and where the chief guards of these frontiers of the empire were placed, while the province of *Valentia* subsisted. Upon the Roman forces leaving Britain, the provincials who inhabited those parts had formed themselves into a little state or kingdom (as we have^(a) shown elsewhere,) in order to defend themselves against the Scots and Picts, and the accession of great numbers of the Britons of the south, who retired to those of Clydesdale, to secure themselves from the ravages of the Saxons, was a new recruit to their little state, and contributed not a little to the stand that these Britons made against the new enemies.

For whatever account may be made of Bede's authority in the historical matters of Britain in general, it were very hard to take all at the letter that he and the other Saxon writers set down of the almost constant triumphs of the Saxons over those ancient inhabitants, without having some regard to what Nennius and the other British writers, even Geoffrey himself, say of the stand the Britons made after the first surprise (occasioned by the Saxons turning treacherously on a sudden against them,) of the re-

(a) Crit. Essay, pp. 32, 33.

A. D. 449. — sistance made by the Britons for a long time, and of the advantages which they sometimes had over the Saxons in other encounters, besides that of Badenhill, which all the Saxon writers own. But the truth is, it is no easy matter, or rather, impossible, at this distance of time, to find out the truth of all that passed betwixt the Britons and Saxons in these early times, nor doth this properly belong to my subject; the reader may consult upon it the learned English writers. So I return to the history of the northern inhabitants of Britain.

LIII. Among these inhabitants, it hath been fully shown in the first part^(a) of this Essay, that the Caledonians or Picts were the most ancient and first known possessors of all the northern parts of the island beyond the friths of Clyde and Forth; we have also remarked^(b) the occasion of the new name of Picts given to the Caledonians by the Roman writers in the third age of Christianity; we have given,^(c) from the best Roman writers, a short chronological account of the warlike actions of the Caledonians or Picts, the only inhabitants of Britain who maintained their liberty and independency against the Romans, and that without any foreign assistance till the coming in of the Scots; we have seen that, not contented with their ancient bounds on the north side of the Friths, they had begun to make early settlements on the south side, and that, when overpowered by the Roman forces, they were obliged to abandon these new acquisitions, they missed no opportunity of recovering them again. We have observed that^(d) the settlements they had made upon the south side of the friths, and the hopes of enlarging them in a fertile country, had encouraged them to grant the Scots, come from Ireland about the third age, a retreat and footing on the western coasts and islands of Britain, in order to have them for auxiliaries against the Romans and Britons; we have seen^(e) that, at last upon the Romans leaving the island, the Picts had forced the Britons to give up to them the eastern parts of the province of Valentia, betwixt the walls, whilst the remains of the old Britons kept still possession of a part of the western coasts of that province. Now it cannot be supposed, in reason, that the Caledonians or Picts could ever have been able thus to carry on almost a constant war, offensive and defensive, against so powerful

^(a) Crit. Essay, pp. 42, 43, &c.

^(b) Ibid. p. 57.

^(c) Supra, II. VIII. et alibi.

^(d) Supra, XXI.

^(e) Supra, XXXVII.

adversaries as the Romans and provincial Britons, during so many ages, without a common concert and union among themselves, that is, without a government and a common head or leader, clothed with authority to convocate them upon all exigencies, to lead them on in battle, to act for them in treaties, and administrate justice in time of peace; in a word, without a king.

Accordingly we have given several catalogues^(a) of their ancient kings, and among these one more authentic than all the rest, of greater antiquity, and supported by the testimony of the most ancient writers of the Irish in the neighbourhood, under the title of "Chronicle of the Origin or first Kings of the ancient Picts," of which a full account is given in the first part^(b) of this Essay, where we have also laid open the defects and incorrection of the first part of the only copy we have hitherto discovered, both in the true reading the names of the kings, and more yet in the numeral letters designed to mark the years of each of the reigns of the first thirty-six kings. For which reason we have hitherto superseded setting down their names, not being possible to reduce them to the chronological order that we endeavour to follow. Whereas the second part of this Pictish Chronicle, beginning at the reign of Durst, son of Irb or Erp, being one of the most exact^(c) short chronicles that I have seen, as to the years of each king's reign, I shall henceforth set down each of the kings according to the order of time.

LIV. A.D. 451. Drest, or Durst, son of Irb, the thirty-seventh king of the Picts, according to their Chronicle, deceased after a reign of forty-five years, according to the surest calculation: there being a visible mistake in the number of years assigned to his reign, as well as to several of those of his predecessors, in the incorrect copy we have of the first part of the Pictish Chronicle (as hath been^(d) elsewhere observed). It is said there that this king Durst fought a hundred battles, and we have seen the frequent inroads the Picts, no doubt under his command, made into the British provinces, which must have given occasion to many battles and skirmishes; it was upon occasion of these frequent invasions that the Britons were twice obliged to call in the Roman forces to their assistance, and with their help to repair first the northern and then the southern wall to secure themselves

^(a) Crit. Essay, p. 776, and p. 798.

^(b) Ibid. p. 105.

^(c) Ibid. pp. 110, 111. &c.

^(d) Ibid. p. 136.

A. D. 451. against their northern enemies. But all in vain, for the Picts passed over all these walls, and made themselves so often masters of the midland provinces, that the Britons, as we have ^(a) seen, were obliged, in order to hinder them to ravage the other inland provinces, to abandon the midland province to them, where they settled on the eastern coasts of it, leaving the Britons in possession of the western territories. All this happened under King Durst's reign, and it cannot be doubted but that he had the greatest share in these exploits.

But the most remarkable occurrences that fell out during his time was the Conversion of the Southern Picts, by S. Ninian bishop, and the mission of the holy bishops S. Palladius and S. Patrick, to preach the Gospel to the Scots, as hath been ^(b) already related. The Pictish Chronicle takes notice of the mission of S. Patrick to Ireland, during King Durst's reign, but placing it in the nineteenth year of King Durst is certainly one of the many errors which are to be met with in the numeral letters of the first part of that Chronicle. With the light of the Gospel, the knowledge of letters was, by degrees, introduced among the Picts, as it was also, upon the same occasion, that is, by the first preachers of the Gospel, first communicated to the inhabitants of Ireland, and to the other northern nations without the bounds of the Empire. And from thenceforth we have a more certain account of the succession of Pictish kings, and of the years of each of their reigns.

To King Durst succeeded Talarg or Talore, the son of Aniel or Amgl, the thirty-eighth king of the Picts, who reigned four years.

LV. A.D. 455. This King Talore dying, was succeeded by Nectan, son of Erp or Irb, and the thirty-ninth king of the Picts. He was brother to King Durst, and had been maltreated by him and forced to retire into Ireland.

A.D. 458, the third year ^(c) of Nectan's reign, according to the Pictish

^(a) Supra, XLIX.

^(b) Supra, XXXIX. XLII.

^(c) *Tertio anno regni ejus [Nectanii, sive Neetonli.] Darlugtach abbatissa, Cella Darade Hibernia exulat proxime ad Britanniam. Secundo anno adventus sui immolavit Neetonius Abernethige Deo et Sanctæ Brigidæ, præsente Darlugtachi, quæ cantavit Alleluia super istam hostiam. Optulit igitur Neetonius magnus filius Uruip, rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum, Apurnethige Sanctæ Brigidæ, usque ad diem judicii, cum suis finibus, quæ positæ sunt a lapide in Apurfeirt, usque ad lapidem juxta Cairfail, id est Lethfoss; et inde in altum usque ad Eithan. Causa oblationis hæc est. Neetonius in exilio manens, fratre suo Drusto expulsa se usque ad Hiberniam, Brigidam Sanctam*

Chronicle, the virgin Darlughdach, disciple and companion to the famous S. Brigid, and afterwards her successor, and Abbess of Kildare, being banished from Ireland, came over to Britain. Two years after her arrival, this Nectan, or Naitan, called Nectan the Great, son of Urup, or Irb, king of all the provinces of the Picts, gave unto God and to S. Brigid, Abernethy, until the Day of Judgment, that is, he made a perpetual donation of it, together with all the bounds thereof, from a stone in Aberfort unto another stone near Cairfuil, that is, Lethfoss, and from thence upwards to Ethan. The occasion of this donation was this. Nectan, whilst as yet a private man, being exiled by his brother King Durst, and forced to seek refuge in Ireland, addressed himself to the famous virgin, S. Brigid, and recommended himself to her prayers. The holy virgin, after consulting God in prayer, assured the prince of the Divine protection, and that he should return to his country and obtain peaceable possession of the kingdom of the Picts; all this came to pass accordingly. And Nectan, having succeeded to this kingdom after the death of King Talore, as a monument of his gratitude, founded the church of Abernethy, and endowed it, and it became afterwards the chief^(a) seat both of the kings and of the bishops of the Picts.

We see by this that King Nectan was a Christian, and probably so also were many of his people. This was the first church that we have account of erected on the north side of the friths in Caledonia, as that of Candida Casa, or Whithorn, in Galloway, was the first that we hear of erected by the bishop S. Ninian, apostle of the Southern Picts, betwixt the walls, in the south-western parts of what is now Scotland. As to what is related of another foundation of the church of Abernethy, attributed by some posterior writers, as we shall^(b) see, to Garnard, the fiftieth king of the Picts, by others to Nectan, their fifty-first king, successor to Garnard, who lived both about one hundred years later than the first King Nectan, it is like that this hath rather been a restoration of that ancient church, made

petivit, ut postulare Deum pro se. Orans autem pro illo dixit: si pervenies ad patriam tuam Dominus miserebitur tui, regnum Pictorum in pace possidebis. Ex Chronico Pictorum. Vide Crit. Essay, app. ii. p. 778. [See Notes of Mr. Herbert and Dr. Todd on the Irish version of Nennius, p. 161, in which a correction is made in the reading of the Chronicle, and the obvious mistake as to chronology, in reference to S. Darlughdach, is pointed out. She was the immediate successor of S. Bride as Abbess of Kildare, and did not attain that dignity till at least sixty years after the date here mentioned. See, also, Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 296, edit. 1814.]

^(a) *Fuit ille locus (Abernethy) principalis Regalis et Pontificalis per aliqua tempora totius regni Pictorum. Lib. Paslet. in Biblioth. Reg. Lond. M.S. lib. iv. c. 12.*

^(b) *Infra, LIV.*

A. D. 458. by the Pictish kings after the total Conversion of all the Picts of south and north, brought about by the great S. Columba, who not only converted to Christianity the Northern Picts, who dwelt beyond the Grampian hills, but in all appearance reconciled many of those that dwelt on the south side of those hills, among whom it appears, by S. Patrick's expostulation against the British tyrant Coroticus (of which afterwards), that there must have happened a great decay of religion, which is not much to be wondered at, if it be considered that, besides the warlike temper and natural fierceness of this people, so opposite to the meekness of the spirit of Christianity, scarcely one half of them, to wit, only the Picts of the south, had been converted by their first apostle, S. Ninian, and the almost constant wars, and yearly expeditions that they were in former times engaged in against the provincial Britons, left but little opportunity to their first pastors to instruct them thoroughly in the doctrine, or to inure them to the practice of Christianity. And the coming in of the Saxons about the middle of this fifth century, engaging the Picts in a new war, first against the Saxons, and soon after in conjunction with them against the Britons, became a new obstacle to the progress of Christianity, and gave, probably, occasion to many of them to forsake it, and upon that account to be called apostate by S. Patrick.

LVI. We have already given a short account^(a) of the first entry of the Saxons into Britain, of the occasion of it, and of the troubles and alterations with which it was followed. But leaving to the English writers the other particulars of these alterations, I shall only add here, that to the wicked King Vortigern (according to the British writers) succeeded his son Vortimerus, to him Ambrosius. But of all the British kings that reigned during their struggle with the Saxons, there is none so celebrated in the British history as King Arthur. He is said to have flourished in the beginning of the sixth century, and Geoffrey, the British writer, hath attributed to him so incredible feats of war, that his accounts have given occasion to most of the judicious writers to reckon almost all he says as fabulous, and to some to go even the length of doubt^(b) of the very being of Arthur. But that there was about these times such a prince, I conceive the account given of him by Nennius,^(c) in the ninth age, and those given by other writers, sufficiently prove it, though Geoffrey's^(d) account be rather a romance than a history.

^(a) *Supra*, LI. LII.

^(b) *Gul. Neubrigen. lib. iii. c. 7.*

^(c) *Nennius, cc. lxii. lxiii.*

^(d) *Hist. Brit. lib. vii.*

As to Ambrosius, Bede^(a) gives, from Gildas, the following account of him. The Britons had at this time for their leader Ambrosius Aurelius, a modest man, who alone perhaps of the Roman nation had survived the storm, all the royal progeny having been slain in the same. Under this commander the Britons revived, and offering battle to the victors, by the help of God, came off victorious. From that day forward, sometimes the natives, and sometimes the Saxons, their enemies, prevailed, till the year of the siege of Baddesdownhill, when the Britons made no small slaughter of those invaders. This victory is placed by Bede forty-four years after the coming in of the Saxons; for thus Bede interprets the words of Gildas, which have given occasion to intricate debates, of which afterwards.

A. D. 458.

LVII. To return now to S. Patrick, and finish what concerns him. Of all the contradictions and afflictions which he met with amidst his apostolical labours in Ireland, nothing seems to have affected him more than the barbarous treatment which he, and his new converts in Ireland, met with from Coroticus, a British prince. This wicked^(b) man made a descent into Ireland, and pillaged that part of it where S. Patrick happened to reside for the time, and to be actually employed in instructing and in baptizing the neophytes, or those that had newly embraced Christianity. Coroticus, with his followers, broke suddenly in upon these neophytes of both sexes, who were as yet in their baptismal white robes, and without respect to the sanctity of the mysteries in which they were initiated, killed some of them, and carried off others captives, and sold them to those of the Scots, who it seems were yet infidels, and to Picts,^(c) whom he calls apostates, for the reasons I have already assigned.

The holy bishop, exceedingly grieved at this profanation and barbarity, deputed the next day to the tyrant a priest, with some others of the clergy, to entreat him to set at liberty the Christians whom he had led captives, and to restore at least some of the plunder; but instead of a satisfactory answer, Coroticus mocked his messengers; upon which the Saint wrote a circular letter addressed to all the Faithful, by which he declares^(d) Coroticus, and all those that had participated with him, separated from the

(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 16.

(b) S. Patric. Epistola de Corotico apud Warneum inter opusc. et apud Bolland. ad 17 Martii.

(c) Ibid. num. 9, edit. Bolland.

(d) Ibid. n. 3.

(e) Ibid. n. 11.

A. D. 458. communion of the Faithful, till they should put the servants of God at liberty, restore what they had plundered, and do penance for their crimes and sacrileges. In this letter S. Patrick entreats all those into whose hands it should happen to fall, to cause spread it everywhere, and read it in the Christian assemblies, and even to Coroticus himself, for he was also a kind of Christian, but only so in name; such as Gildas^(a) describes most of the other Britons of those times, whose wickedness drew upon them the destruction of their country. It was no doubt this caution of S. Patrick to have this letter copied and handed about, that contributed to preserve it to our time; as there is still extant another work of S. Patrick, often mentioned already, entitled his Confession,^(b) or rather Apology; it being properly speaking, a modest apology of his suffering himself to be elevated to the episcopal dignity, and of his going to exercise the functions of the sacred ministry, rather in Ireland, than among his countrymen in Britain; all which he justifies with great humility, by the particular marks of the vocation of God, and by the success and blessing God had been pleased to bestow upon his labours.

These two pieces contain the most assured account that we have of S. Patrick's life and labours; they are attributed to the Saint as his own works, in all the most ancient MSS., as the learned Waræus,^(c) who first published them, testifies. He observes^(d) also, as a proof of their being very ancient, that the quotations of the Scriptures in them, are taken from the ancient Latin version made upon the Septuagint, (which perfectly agrees to S. Patrick's age,) and not from S. Hierome's translation from the Hebrew, which was not commonly in use till afterwards. Dr. Cave,^(e) also, reckons these pieces among the genuine works of S. Patrick, and the continuators of the Bollandian Acts of Saints seem to be of the same opinion. They have accordingly given us a new and more correct edition of them, and prefer them to all the different lives of the Saint, as being of greater antiquity than any of them, and quoted verbatim under S. Patrick's name in the most ancient accounts of his life. They are also much valued by Usserius,^(f) but by none more so than M. de Tillemont,^(g) who, in the

^(a) Epist. Gildæ, edit. Gale.

^(b) Confessio B. Patric. edit. War. et Bolland.

^(c) Ware, in notis ad opusc. S. Patricii, p. 94.

^(d) Ibid.

^(e) Cave, Scriptor. Eccles. p. 271.

^(f) Ussher, Ant. Brit.

^(g) Tillemont, Hist. Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 455.

history he hath given us of this Saint, prefers these pieces to all that hath been written of him; and, indeed, the sense of piety, of humility, the ardent love of God, the vehement desire to do, and suffer all for the cause of God, and for the salvation of souls, render these pieces worthy of an apostolical man, notwithstanding their barbarous Latin style, which is not to be wondered at from one born in the farthest extremities of the Roman empire, and who had lived for so many years in Ireland. In fine, they are the most ancient writings of any native of Britain that now remain. This invasion made by Coroticus, on S. Patrick's flock in Ireland, must have happened when the Saint was well advanced in age, since he tells us that the priest, whom he deputed to Coroticus, to recover the captives, had been educated by himself from his infancy.

A. D. 458.

We have no certain account how long S. Patrick lived after writing this last piece, and, what is still more surprising, though perhaps no Saint's life hath been written by more authors, and in more different forms, (whereof Colgan^(a) hath given us no less than seven, besides several appendixes,) yet the learned have so mean opinion of them, that many of them think these pieces so very little serviceable to furnish out a true account of the life of this great Saint, that they rather serve to perplex and encumber it, so that some of the ablest writers that have undertaken it, differ in no less than thirty years in fixing the era of his death, some placing it A.D. 460, others A.D. 493. This last date is more conformable to the different accounts of his life, which give him one hundred and thirty-two years of age, and in this they are followed, not only by Colgan, but by Usseus, Waræus, Cave, &c. But the Bollandian^(b) Acts, and after them Baillet,^(c) retrench the number of years of his life, and place his death A.D. 460, by reason that they find not, even in the many writers that have treated of him, anything memorable done by him during the last thirty years of his life.

However that be, it is certain that this great Saint was the glorious instrument that Divine Providence made use of towards the Conversion of the inhabitants of Ireland from paganism, and that the Scots, and other northern inhabitants of Britain, owed in a great measure, chiefly to him and his disciples, if not their Conversion, at least their instruction in the

(a) Colgan, Trias Th. Lovan. 1647, fol.

(b) Act. Bolland. ad 17 Martii.

(c) Baillet, Vies des Saints, 17 Mars.

A. D. 458.

doctrine and discipline of Christianity; and I have insisted so long upon the life and actions of S. Patrick, not only because he was a native of those parts of Britain, which are contained many ages ago within the kingdom of Scotland, but because we cannot have a more faithful account of the doctrine, discipline, Church government, and other practices of the first Christians among the Scots in Britain, (which are otherwise involved in so great obscurity,) than from the accounts that remain of the doctrine and religious customs of S. Patrick and his disciples in Ireland, from whom they were originally derived, (as will appear in the sequel of this work,) to the Scots and other northern inhabitants of Britain.

LVIII. Some readers will perhaps be surprised that I have said so little of the prodigies and miracles said to have been wrought by S. Patrick in Ireland, whereas all the writers of his life insist so much upon them. But, besides that miracles require a certitude and attestation of a different nature from ordinary historical facts, many of the miracles attributed to S. Patrick, far from having the proofs and vouchers that the Church requires for extraordinary cures, and other operations beyond the common course of nature, are not only related by writers that lived at too great a distance from S. Patrick's time to be sufficiently assured of them, but many of these miracles are written with so little judgment, and regard to likelihood, that I have no apprehension that any men of true taste and literature, will blame my caution and reservedness in passing them over; and what I say of the miracles contained in the legends of S. Patrick, I mean of all such other miracles which we meet with in other legends and pieces of no better authority.

But without entering into the detail of the miracles attributed to S. Patrick by the many writers of his life, published by Father Colgan,^(a) (to whom the reader, if he thinks fit, may have recourse,) and even without insisting upon what Nennius^(b) (of some greater authority, because nearer the time,) says of S. Patrick's miracles, in short, I may at least conclude with the words of Marianus,^(c) our countryman, that the Conversion of all Ireland "was not brought about by S. Patrick without many signs and miracles, during the forty years that he laboured in that island." Since it had been

^(a) Colgan, Vit. S. Patricii in Triad. Th.

^(b) Nennius, cc. lviij, lix, &c.

^(c) (S. Patricius) per annos quadraginta signis atque mirabilibus totam insulam Hiberniam convertit. Marian. Scot. ad A.D. 432.

the greatest of all miracles, that a whole nation of uncultivated people, blinded with superstition and idolatry, drowned in sensuality, governed only by their brutal passions, only actuated by exterior and sensible objects, and who had no distinct notions or ideas of immaterial things, should be so wonderfully changed and converted in a short time, without any other force or power, but upon the bare word or preaching of a stranger, as not only to forsake the worship of their false deities, and adore an invisible God, and renounce too their carnal passions, in hopes of a spiritual recompense in another life; but many among them renounce even to the world, to the use of permitted eases, pleasures, and possessions, and embrace for the rest of their days voluntarily, poverty, chastity, and obedience.

A. D. 458.

And what I say of the Conversion of the Irish by S. Patrick, is equally applicable and true of the Conversion of the Southern Picts by S. Ninian, and of the Northern by S. Columba; of the Cumbrian Britons, Scots, and Saxons, by S. Kentigern; and of the inhabitants of Britain by other saints, replenished with a portion of the apostolical spirit. For though in what I may have to say of their lives and actions, I shall not give any detail of the miracles attributed to them, by the authors of what remains we have of their lives; yet to suppose that all these Conversions were wrought without any miracles, would be to suppose a most extraordinary and surprising miracle, against the common course of all that we meet with in the most authentic histories of the Conversions of the several nations of the world, from idolatry to Christianity.

Before I conclude what concerns S. Patrick, I must observe, that it is no small surprise to find that Bede hath never once, in his history, named S. Patrick, though he mentions, and sometimes at length, other saints of Ireland, every way inferior to him. But since we have S. Patrick placed upon his proper day (17 March) by Bede in his true Martyrologe, published lately by Dr. Smith, the omission of him in his History is a new proof of the insignificancy of negative arguments drawn from Bede's silence. But of this negative argument we have said enough elsewhere. Neither can anything be concluded against S. Patrick's being a true bishop, even in Bede's judgment, from his being qualified only "confessor" by Bede in his Martyrology, (xvi. kal. April. in Scotia, S. Patritii confessoris); for in the style of Bede, and of other monuments of antiquity, the title of "confessor" is often equivalent to that of "episcopus et confessor;" as in the same authentic Martyrologe of Bede, we find many great saints, whose episcopal

- A. D. 458. Character no knowing person doubts of, qualified simply "confessor." Thus we find in it, "4 April. S. Ambrosii confessoris; 28 Maii, S. Germani confessoris; 8 Jun. S. Medardi confessoris; 4 Julii, translatio S. Martini confessoris, (S. Martin of Tours); 1 Octob. S. Remigii confessoris," &c. I thought proper to add this remark for a general answer to such objections, as a learned Presbyterian gentleman, Mr. George Crawford, made to me at Edinburgh, against S. Kentigern or S. Mungo's episcopal Character, because he is sometimes found, for brevity's sake, designed only as "confessor," in writs where he is transiently named, such as in Donations to the Church or the like.

THE
CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK SECOND.

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I. A.D. 480. AFTER a reign of twenty-five years, happened the death of Nectan or Naitan, first of that name, the thirty-ninth king of the Picts, called in the Pictish Chronicle "Nectan the Great." To him succeeded Drest or Drust Gormoth, their fortieth king, and reigned thirty years. In his time happened one of the greatest events that are to be met with in the history of the North of Britain, to wit, the erection of the kingdom of the Scots in that island, whereof this is the best account we can collect from the few remains we have of the history of those times.

The Scots, as we have shown elsewhere,^(a) began to come over from Ireland and settle in Britain, by favour of the Picts, during the third age after the Incarnation. We have also given^(b) account of all that history furnishes concerning them, both in the Critical Essay, part first, and in different places of this second part, according to the order of time, till the coming in of the Saxons to the assistance of the Britons. By these auxiliaries, joined to the Britons, the Picts and Scots were at first repulsed in an engagement near Stanford, as we have already observed.^(c)

Bede informs us also, in particular concerning the Picts, that the number of the Saxons being exceedingly increased by the coming in of new troops, they drove the Picts to greater^(d) distance, and that, nevertheless, not long after, upon the Saxons turning their arms against the Britons, who

^(a) Crit. Essay, p. 636.

^(b) Ibid. pp. 638-666.

^(c) Supra, Book First, LL.

^(d)Longius bellando pepulerant. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 15.

A. D. 480. had brought them in to their aid, the Picts, who (being admonished of this perfidy of the Saxons against the Britons, of what they themselves might look for at the hands of so faithless a nation, if they suffered their power to increase), should, for their own security, by all the rules of good policy, have joined with the Britons, in order to expel this common enemy out of the island; instead of that, the Picts let themselves be so blinded by their old enmity and domestic quarrels as to join with the Saxons against the Britons: whereas^(a) the Scots, better advised, joined the Britons, according to Fordun, against the Saxons and Picts. And this is the first instance we meet with in history of any open breach betwixt the Picts and the Scots.

But it was not long ere the Picts had occasion to repent of their inconsiderate bargain with their new confederates, and observe their error in fomenting so dangerous an enemy in their neighbourhood, as the Saxons proved to be to them in particular, as well as to the other ancient inhabitants of Britain.

Nennius^(b) and Malmesbury inform us, that some years after the coming in of the Saxons, Hengistus, their chief leader, had obtained the consent of Vortigern, king of the Britons, to call over his brothers Oth or Octa and Ebusa, and to settle them in the northern parts of the Roman provinces of Britain, under the pretext of guarding the Britons against the irruptions of their northern enemies. Accordingly a strong body of Saxons came over under leaders, and began to settle in the countries betwixt the Walls, or in the province of Valentia, inhabited at that time by the Picts and by the remains of the Britons; and the forces of the Saxons daily augmenting by the coming over of new bodies of their countrymen, by degrees they became masters of a part of these midland territories, and in proportion obliged the Picts of these parts to retire northwards, which made them press hard upon the Scots, and gave a new occasion to widen the breach betwixt them.

The Picts, at the first entry of the Scots into Britain, being willing to have them auxiliaries in their wars against the Romans and provincial Britons, allowed them so much the more freedom to settle on their north-western coasts, and in the little islands betwixt Britain and Ireland, that at the first coming in of the Scots, and whilst the Picts had war with the Romans, they had a door open on the south side of the friths to extend

^(a) Fordun, lib. i. cc. 14, 15, 16.

^(b) Nennius, c. xxxvii.

their dominions into much more fertile territories than those were which they had abandoned to the Scots. A. D. 480.

So the Picts, at the first coming in of the Scots, and for a long time afterwards lived in great union with them, and had no jealousy nor apprehension of the increase of their colony, nor of the enlargement of their possessions in Britain, finding them always in readiness to go along with them in their southern expeditions.

And this harmony betwixt these two people seems to have continued without any remarkable interruption till the Romans abandoned the island in the beginning of the fifth age, and perhaps even till about the middle of that age, and the coming in of the Saxons, and their beginning to press hard upon the Pictish inhabitants to the south of the friths, and forcing them to give ground, but especially upon the descent of Octa and Ebusa into those northern parts of the island with new armies of Saxons, and their endeavouring to settle in the province of Valentia, of a great part of which the Caledonians or Picts had been frequently masters in the Roman times, and upon the final retreat of the Romans, after repairing the last time the wall of Adrian or of Severus, about A.D. 426, and the Britons retiring, partly to the south within the wall, partly to the west in Clydesdale, upon that occasion, the Picts, as we have seen elsewhere,^(a) had taken peaceable possession of the eastern parts of Valentia, and remained since that entirely masters of them, as a part of their property till the descent of Octa and Ebusa.

But these new invaders, notwithstanding the former^(b) agreement made betwixt the Picts and the Saxons of the south, as Bede observes, began to attack the Picts in their possessions of Valentia, and by frequent accession of new bodies of Saxons coming over to them, increased their forces, so as to get a footing and settlement in these northern parts.

By these encroachments of the Saxons, the possessions of the Picts to the south of the friths were reduced into narrow bounds, and from that time forwards the breach between the Picts and the Scots, which, upon the Scots separating from the Picts and joining with the Britons (as Fordun observes they did) had been already begun, widened daily more and more; other new motives contributing daily to increase it, made the Picts begin to repent of their too great indulgence and too liberal concessions to the Scots.

^(a) Supra, Book First, XXXVII, L.

^(b) Supra, Book First, LII.

A. D. 480.

By reason that, on the one hand, instead of the room or space that the Picts had, in former times, to enlarge their bounds betwixt the walls, they now began to be pent up by the Saxons, and exposed rather to lose a part of what formerly they possessed to the south of the friths, than in condition to augment their possessions: on the other hand, instead of auxiliaries, or trusty allies, as the Scots had been, at their first coming into Britain, having by this time acquired large possessions in the north-western parts of the island, and their number and forces still augmenting by frequent accession of new forces from Ireland, they began to set up by themselves, to depend no more upon the Picts, but had joined with the Britons against them, and were at last become so considerable a colony that they wanted only a king at their head to become an independent monarchy. All these motives could not fail of raising the jealousy of the Picts, and even their apprehensions, to a very high pitch; but the means they used to obstruct the growth and power of the Scots, had just a quite contrary effect, and gave occasion to the increase of their power, and to the first establishment of the monarchy of the Scots in Britain.

Fordun,^(a) in the account he gives of the erection of the Scottish monarchy in Britain, gives ground to believe that the Picts, upon the foresaid motives of fears and jealousies of the growth and power of the Scots, entered into a resolution to endeavour to force the Scots out of all Britain, and had actually begun to harass and annoy them all they could. Upon this, the Scots of Britain, as they were used to do in all their pressures, failed not to acquaint the Scots in Ireland of the danger they were exposed to, and to call to them for assistance.

II. But before we proceed farther in the account of the foundation of the Scottish monarchy, in order to put this essential period of our history into a better light, we must recapitulate here in few words, what hath been elsewhere^(b) treated at full length, and observe that Fordun (from whose Chronicle we have most of the particulars of the erection of the Scottish monarchy) had formed to himself a new system of its antiquity, which he thought more honourable to the nation, and had advanced the era of its foundation about seven or eight centuries higher than its true date; and because all the nation in all ages had agreed that the name of first founder of the monarchy in Britain was Fergus, Fordun could not choose but pitch

^(a) Fordun, lib. i. cc. 31, 32; lib. ii. c. 12.

^(b) Crit. Essay, p. 637, &c.

upon one of the same name for its founder. But whereas, according to all the most ancient catalogues of the Scottish kings, all the remains of their most ancient Chronicles, and the uniform tradition of the Scots down to Fordun's own time (witness the many testimonies^(a) of his contemporary writer Winton), Fergus, the son of Erch, had been uniformly believed by all the Scots to have been their first king and founder of the monarchy (as it hath been in the first part^(b) of this Essay sufficiently proved), Fordun, to make his new system of the monarchy bear up with the antiquity to which he had raised it, and agree with the uniform belief and tradition of the Scots in his own time, that their first king and founder of the monarchy was called Fergus, finding in the old Genealogy^(c) of the Scots kings one Forco, Forgo, or Fergus, son of Erch (which in the common account was more than enough to place him seven or eight centuries before) upon this, Fordun pitches upon this Fergus, son of Feredach or Ferchard, and makes him the first king and founder of the monarchy of the Scots in Britain.

A. D. 480.

In consequence of this, Fordun, in his Chronicle,^(d) ascribes to this first Fergus, son of Feredach, whatever he had met with in the ancient Chronicles of the Scots (and assuredly he had the use of many that we have no more,) relating to the first founders, and to the occasion of the first erection of the monarchy. But having elsewhere^(e) proved that the first foundation of it was not three or four centuries before the Incarnation, as Fordun would have it, nor the first founder^(f) Fergus, son of Feredach, but Fergus, the son of Erch, it follows in course that all the account of its first foundation and founder, which Fordun hath collected from what he found extant in his own time, and applied to Fergus, son of Feredach, did not belong to him, nor to the epoch in which Fordun hath placed him, but to Fergus, son of Erch, and to his time, for which reason I make no difficulty to make the application of them to him.

This supposed, I return to the account of the establishment of the Scottish monarchy, such as we find it in Fordun or other ancient writers.

The Scots of Ireland, who by this time were, for the most part, Christians, being informed that those in Britain, hitherto without a king, and

(a) Crit. Essay, p. 680, app. vii. p. 820, &c.

(b) Ibid. p. 666, &c.

(c) Ibid. p. 235, Genealog. Tables.

(d) Fordun, lib. i. cc. 31, 32; lib. ii. c. 12.

(e) Crit. Essay, p. 638.

(f) Ibid. pp. 666, 689.

A. D. 503.

dispersed in different quarters of the western parts of the island, were daily exposed to the insults and encroachment of the Picts, and even threatened to be expelled the island, were moved with concern at their pressures, and resolved to send to their assistance. Upon this, Fergus,^(a) the son of Erch, a prince of extraordinary courage and valour, and of a royal descent, taking a more particular concern in the Scots of Britain, and at the same time excited by the ambition of making himself a king, resolved to put himself at the head of those that were to march from Ireland to their relief. So having assembled a great body of choice troops, he passed over to the west of Britain with his brothers Loarn and Angus, and gathering together the Scots who had lived hitherto most part dispersed in the western islands and cantons of Britain, he united them into one body of people with the Scots that he had brought over with him from Ireland, and made^(b) himself the first king over them, giving them also laws^(c) and making statutes for the government of this his new kingdom, and thus, according to Fordun, our first general historian that now remains, the monarchy of the Scots in Britain was originally founded by Fergus, his taking upon himself the government of the Scots, to protect them against their enemies. And here we have not the least mention of any election made of Fergus, either by the heads of clans or by the nobles or commons, nor the least hint of any original contract, or "pacta-conventa," betwixt king and people.

Winton,^(d) our second general historian, gives much the same account of the origin of the Scottish monarchy, where he informs us that Fergus, the son of Erch or Erth, brought over with him from Ireland the famous fatal stone, and made himself king over the Scots, and over all their possessions, from Drumalban to Sluaghmore and Inchevall.

Fergus Erthesone, fra him (Simon Brek) syne
Down descending, lyne be lyne,
Into the five-and-fiftie gre, (i. e. degree,)
As even recknand men may see,
Brought this stane within Scotland,
First quhen he came and wan that land.⁽¹⁾

^(a) Fordun, lib. i. c. 34.

^(b)Super eos (Scotos) regem primum se constituit (Fergus). Fordun, lib. i. c. 37.

^(c)Datis legibus et statutis. Fordun, lib. ii. c. 12. Crit. Essay, p. 262.

^(d) Crit. Essay, p. 263, and app. p. 820.

⁽¹⁾ [Wyntown, vol. i. p. 58.]

He that was called Fergus More,
 In the Third Buke ye hard before,
 Was Fergus Erthesone, yat thre zere
 Maid him beyond the Drum to steir.
 Owre all the hychts, ever ilk ane,
 As yai ly frae Drumbane
 Till Stanemore and Inchegall,
 King he maid him owre yam all.⁽¹⁾

A. D. 503.

III. It is related^(a) by some of the Irish writers of S. Patrick's life, that this King Fergus, the son of Erch, when he was as yet very young, in Ireland, and before he came to Albany or was king, was blessed in a particular manner by S. Patrick, who foretold his future grandeur, and that he was to be the stock of a race of kings that were to reign in Albany. However that be, all the inhabitants of Ireland being generally before this time converted to Christianity by S. Patrick and his disciples, there can be no doubt made of Fergus, his being a Christian, when he came over to Britain, as well as his numerous followers.

And Fordun^(b) in particular attests the Christianity of King Fergus, and of his two brothers, Loarn and Angus, where, after giving account of the death of King Kenneth the Great, the son of Alpin, he adds, "he was buried in Iona, where King Fergus, son of Erch, with his brothers Loarn and Angus had been buried;" to which he adjoins this vulgar prayer for Christians deceased: "May^(c) their souls rest in perpetual peace."

Now, if we reflect on what hath been already^(d) said of the great number of bishops ordained by S. Patrick in Ireland, and in proportion of churchmen of the second Order, I hope nobody that considers the universal practice and discipline of Christians everywhere in those days, especially in Ireland, where Fergus and his followers had been born and bred up, will think it a groundless conjecture to suppose that such a great body of Christians came not over to Britain, without bringing along with them their pastors; that is, one or more bishops, and a competent number of churchmen of the

(1) [Wyntown, vol. i. p. 71.]

(a) Colgan, Trias Th. Vit. S. Patricii, p. 95.

(b) Fordun, lib. iv. c. 8.

(c) [Kenneth fil. Alpin] in insula Iona, cum honore decenti, maximoque Scotorum ejulatu, sepultus est, ubi quondam Rex Fergusius filius Erth cum fratribus Loarn et Oenegus, humo condebatur: quorum animæ pace perpetua perfuantur. Fordun, *ibid.*

(d) *Supra*, Book First, XLVI.

A. D. 503. second Order, necessary for preserving and propagating Christianity in the places where they were to settle.

It is true we have now no more any detail of what passed in those first times, among the Scots, in any ancient history remaining. But that there were bishops in Scotland, in these times, we are informed in the first place by the anonymous^(a) author of the Life of S. Finnan, or Winnyn, (from whom the abbey of Kilwinning derives its name,) that there lived in these western parts of Scotland, about this time, a holy bishop called Nennio, who had his seat at the great monastery, "apud magnum monasterium," which, as Dean Cressy^(b) with reason judges, was that of Candida Casa, or Whithern, founded formerly by the holy bishop S. Ninian, and still kept up by his successors, which, from the numerous society of religious men who lived there under the care of bishop Nennio, was called by excellence the Great Monastery. It was to this bishop Nennio that Finnan (whose name was pronounced Winnyn, as bishop^(b) Ussher remarks, by the Britons who inhabited those parts,) was recommended by bishop Colman from Ireland, and was bred up in this monastery under Nennio, to the sacred letters and regular discipline. This Winnyn, going afterwards to Rome, was ordained bishop and returning back, exercised his sacred functions in Ireland, and in these western parts of Scotland, where he died in great opinion of sanctity, and was buried in Cunningham, at the place called Kilwinning from his name, where an abbey was afterwards erected.

We are also furnished by Matthew Westminster^(d) (if we could depend upon his authority,) with a proof of bishops at this time, both among the Picts and the Scots, coming to intercede for these people with King Arthur. But this story being taken from Geoffrey the British historian, who according to his custom, adds romantic circumstances to it, to magnify his hero, Arthur, I pretend not that any other use can be made of it than to show that Geoffrey, an author of the twelfth age, was persuaded that the government settled among the Scots and Picts, in the beginning of the sixth age, was episcopal; which is, I hope, a sufficient prescription against writers two or three hundred years later, such as Fordun.

But without being obliged to have recourse to English or British writers,

^(a) Vita S. Fannani sive Wynnini episcopi apud Capgrav. ex Joan. Tinmuthen. fol. clxvii.

^(b) Cressy, Ch. Hist. of Britain, p. 240.

^(c) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 494.

^(d) M. Westmonaster. ad A.D. 521.

those of our own country furnish us with proofs of the Scots and Picts having bishops in these times. But before I set down their authorities, I must here remind the reader of what I took notice of in the preface^(a) to the Critical Essay, that the arguments and proofs contained in the first part of that Essay against the accounts given by Fordun, Boece, Buchanan, &c., of the forty pretended ancient kings, and other remote antiquities of the Scots, ought not to derogate from the authority of these same writers in their other historical accounts, especially of ecclesiastical matters, in following ages; particularly when the accounts they give are conformable to, or not contradicted by more ancient writers, nor appear to have been written with any design to serve a turn, as we have shown^(b) that Boece's accounts of the kings were originally intended. And I conceive that the accounts we meet with in Boece and in other writers before the Reformation, of our ancient bishops or other ecclesiastical matters, however lame they be, are so much the more valuable and to be depended upon, that since their times there are infinite numbers of ancient records, histories, and monuments, particularly relating to the Church, entirely lost, (for the destruction of this kind of writings and books seems to have been one of the chief objects of the fiery zeal of the ringleaders among our first Reformers,) and they have fully satisfied their wrath against them, as hath been shown elsewhere.^(c)

Now it appears by what our later writers have delivered relating to ecclesiastical matters in the times posterior to Fergus son of Erch, that they had no design but to set down with simplicity what they found in more ancient writers, and what was generally believed in their times of the names, quality, and actions of the holy bishops and other saints of the Scots in ancient times, and all they contain is conformable to the remains that we have of ancient kalendars and liturgical books in use among the Scots in Catholic times, by which it appears that the festivals of these holy bishops, and other saints, were annually celebrated in our churches. Such are for the most part the holy bishops mentioned in several ages in Boece's history, and some of them in that of Buchanan, and in our ancient breviaries and missals.

For which reasons I shall make use of these with so much the less

^(a) Crit. Essay, Preface, pp. xlviii, xlix.

^(b) Crit. Essay, pp. 282, 283, &c.

^(c) Crit. Essay, pp. 561, 562, &c.

A. D. 503.

scruple or difficulty in what they contain of ecclesiastical matters, that I have the example even of the best modern writers among the English Protestants, such as Spelman, Stillingfleet, Langhorn, Collier, and others, not to speak of the famous Ussher, who all of them employ this kind of authorities, when they treat of the ancient British bishops, and of the history of the Church of the old Britons; though much of what they say is grounded only upon the authority of the lives or legends of these famous British saints, such as Dubricius, David, Asaph, and others who are not mentioned by Bede, no more than the Scottish bishops, and the more certain accounts that may have been written of them in ancient times are now perished. Now all ecclesiastical writings, and all that could furnish out anything like a continued Church History in our country being destroyed, as everybody knows, we are obliged to neglect no kind of materials that can give any light into it.

For the purpose, Boece informs^(a) us that during the reign of King Comgal, (whereof he and his followers place by mistake the beginning A.D. 479,) there flourished in Scotland the following holy bishops, Colman the ancient, Medan, Modan, and Euchin, and S. Patricianus; this last was bishop in the Isle of Man, whereof the inhabitants were then all Scots. It is true that Boece anticipates some years the reign of King Comgal, and those of the other kings of Scots, from Fergus, son of Erch, till King Aidan, as Fordun had done before him, (for the reasons elsewhere^(b) related and examined,) and fixes the death of King Comgal A.D. 501. But this at least shows that Boece believed that all those bishops flourished in the end of the fifth century, or beginning of the sixth, which is the true epoch of the reign of Fergus son of Erch, first king of the Scots, to whom we now return.

IV. It is no great wonder that we are left so much in the dark as to ecclesiastical matters of these times, since we have very little certain knowledge of the civil or military transactions during the reign of this first founder of the monarchy. But the uniting into one body of people the Scots that he brought along with him from Ireland, with the ancient Scots, inhabitants of Britain; the settling the monarchy by establishing laws, order, and discipline; the fixing the bounds of it; the regulating the order

^(a) Boeth. Hist. fol. 151, edit. Ferrer.

^(b) Crit. Essay, pp. 690, 691, &c.

of the succession to the crown, to avoid divisions and civil wars, (and the succession of our first kings after Fergus, plainly shows that the order settled by him was that the crown should descend to the immediate heirs of line); in fine, the repulsing the encroachments of the Picts; the freeing the Scots from all subjection to the Picts, and dependence on them; and making his new monarchy independent; all these were as many necessary applications unavoidable to this king on his first entry upon the administration, and more than enough to fill up his short reign, which lasted only three years, according to all the ancient chronicles and catalogues^(a) of the kings of Scots.

Fordun indeed assigns sixteen years to Fergus's reign, and is followed in that by Boece, Buchanan, &c.; but we have elsewhere^(b) observed Fordun's motives for lengthening the reigns of some of the kings, from this Fergus till King Aidan, as well as for his adding three new names of kings to them, which had not been heard of before, in order to make the drawing out three generations, to fill up about two hundred years, less perceptible, which was a necessary consequence of Fordun's anticipating King Fergus's reign one entire century before its true date.

A.D. 506. To King Fergus succeeded his eldest son and immediate heir, Domangard or Dongard, who, after a reign of five years, was also immediately succeeded, A.D. 511, by his eldest son and next heir, Comgal; by which it appears, as we observed already, that the first order of succession settled among the Scots in Britain, from the origin of the monarchy, was not only hereditary in general, but intended to descend to the next immediate heir of line.

It is true that the circumstances of the Scots in the first ages of the monarchy, surrounded on all sides by powerful enemies, and therefore obliged to be always on the wing, and ready to march with their king at their head, as chief commander, to encounter their enemies, these circumstances obliged the Scots afterwards, when the immediate heir was under age, and not able to govern or command in person, to commit the administration to the nearest relation that appeared most qualified for the government and command. But this alteration of the first order of succession, however well intended, brought it in length of time into an inevitable con-

^(a) Crit. Essay, app. iv. v. vi. vii.

^(b) Crit. Essay, p. 689, &c.

A. D. 510. fusion, which, as it was natural it should be, was followed with intestine divisions, civil wars, and bloodshed; and these frequent troubles and confusions obliged the Scots at last, in the tenth century, to re-establish the original order of succession, and to enact that upon the death of each king, his immediate heir of line, of whatever age, should succeed, as we shall see in its proper place.

A.D. 510. Durst^(a) Gorthinmoth, or Gormot, king of the Picts, dying, had for successor Galanan, or Galain, the forty-first king of the Picts, who reigned twelve years.

A.D. 511, died Domangart,^(b) or Dongart, the second king of the Scots, and was succeeded by his son and immediate heir, Comgal, who reigned twenty-four years.

V. It was, according to the most probable opinion, during his reign that the famous battle or siege of Badon-hill fell out, at which, according to the British writers, the Saxons received a great defeat from the old Britons, commanded, as they relate, by their king Arthur. Nennius is the most ancient writer that ascribes this victory to King Arthur, but without marking the precise date of it; he only says it was the twelfth and last battle of King Arthur against the Saxons.

There are so many different opinions among the learned about the date of this battle, that it seems impossible, almost, to fix it. Gildas, himself, seems indeed to mark this date in these words following: "*Et eo^(c) tempore nunc cives nunc hostes vincebant, usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur, novissimæque ferme de furciferis non minimæ stragis, quique quadragesimus quartus, ut novi, oritur annus, mense jam primo emenso, qui jam et mæe nativitatis est.*" It is clear by this, that the siege or battle of Bansdown, or Badon-hill, happened the same year that Gildas was born; and the concern that the learned take in the date of this battle, is not so much on account of the battle itself as in order to fix the time of the birth and chronology of Gildas, the most ancient British writer of whom we have now any remains; besides that, Gildas having been famous in his time for the sanctity of his life, for his zeal for the propagation of the Gospel in our parts of Britain, for the increase and advancement of piety, and for his courage in rebuking publicly the wicked-

^(a) Catal. Regg. Pictor. 2d part, Crit. Essay, p. 137, et app ii.

^(b) Catal. Regg. Scotor. Crit. Essay, app. iv.v. vi. vii.

^(c) Gildas, c. xxi.

ness of the times, and the vices even of the princes and prelates, as well as those of the people in his own time, he deserves that the memory of his life and actions be conveyed down with due respect to posterity. And what interests chiefly the Scots in this subject is, that Gildas, according to all the writers of his life, was a native of the northern parts of Britain, or Scotland, and a short account of him belongs so much the more to the present subject, that the Scottish writers seem hitherto scarce to have known him, or that their country had any interest in him. Even Dempster,^(a) so zealous for multiplying writers of Scotland, confounds Gildas with Nennius, (whose works in most MSS. bear the name of Gildas,) and places him in the ninth age. Buchanan^(b) knew so little about him that he supposes, with the legendary writers of the Britons or Welsh, that Gildas died and was buried at Glastonbury. Now, the source of the contestations about fixing the date of Gildas's birth arises partly from Bede's interpretation of the foresaid passago of Gildas himself, partly from the different relations of Gildas's life. Bede's interpretation^(c) or paraphrase of Gildas's words is as follows: "Et eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes vincebant, usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, quando non minimas eisdem hostibus strages dabant, quarto circiter et quadragesimo anno adventus eorum in Britanniam." From that day, sometimes the natives, sometimes their enemies, prevailed, till the year of the siege of Baddesdown-hill, when they made no small slaughter of these enemies, being the forty-fourth year after their arrival in Britain. Here Bede visibly supposes that the forty-four years, mentioned by Gildas, were to be reckoned from the entry of the Saxons to Britain, which having happened about A.D. 449, it follows, in Bede's account, that the battle of Baddesdown-hill, and by consequence the birth of Gildas, fell out A.D. 493. Whereas Gildas's words, if attentively considered, as Archbishop Ussher,^(d) Father Mabillon,^(e) and Dr. Smith, in the last edition of Bede observe, import that since the battle of Baddesdown-hill, at which time Gildas was born, till the time of Gildas writing this historical piece, there had passed forty-four years and about one month; so the fixing the date of this battle, and of the birth of Gildas, depends upon finding out the precise year in which

A. D. 511.

(a) Dempster, de Scriptor. Scot. p. 322.

(b) Buchanan, Hist. Scot. fol. [p. 78.]

(c) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 16.

(d) Ussher, Ant. Brit.

(e) Mabillon, Annal. Benedict.

A. D. 511. Gildas wrote this piece, and counting forty-four years backwards. Now there are, indeed, some characters in the piece itself of the time in which it was written, but they depend on what passed among the Britons in those times, and that being uncertain, renders the whole very dubious.

As to Gildas's life, we have two relations of it; the most ancient and most authentic is that of an anonymous abbot or monk of Ruyse, an abbey of Little Britany in France, taken from the ancient monuments of that abbey, whereof Gildas himself was the founder, and where he was buried, and his memory is still in veneration. This Life of Gildas, from which I shall chiefly take my accounts of him, was first published from a MS. of the abbey of Fleury, upon the river of Loire, by John^(a) a Boses, a Celestin, afterwards by Father Papebroche^(b) and Father Colgan,^(c) and last of all it was given more complete and correct, from an ancient MS., by Father Mabillon.^(d)

The second Life of Gildas bears the name of Caradoc of Lancarvan, a Welsh or British writer of the twelfth age, whereof there are large abstracts in bishop Ussher's *Antiquities*,^(e) and a copy of it in a modern hand in the King's Library at London. It seems wholly calculated to the humour of the monks of Glastonbury, who as they pretend that the great S. Patrick did sometime inhabit that abbey and was buried there, so, also, the legend of Caradoc seems written with design to lay the same claim to S. Gildas. This Life, with some alteration of the style, and some interpolations, as his custom is, was published by Capgrave^(f) from John of Tinmouth; and this is what is called the Life of Gildas Albanus, which, says Mr. Collier^(g) hath so much the air of a romance, that it doth not deserve to be mentioned.

Three different relations of Gildas's life have given occasion to some English and Irish writers to pretend that there were two saints of the name of Gildas, or rather to divide this holy man into two personages, and call the one Gildas Albanus, and the other Gildas Badonicus; and Colgan^(h) goes the length to divide the most authentic Life we have of Gildas, and

^(a) Bibliotheca Florim Jo. Bos. p. 429, edit. 1605, Lugdun.

^(b) Act. Sanctor. Bolland. ad 29 Januar.

^(c) Colgan, Act. Sanct. Hibern. ad 29 Januar.

^(d) Act. Benedict. tom. I.

^(e) Vita Gildæ ex Ant. Brit. Usserii apud Colgan, Act. SS. ad 29 Januar. p. 179.

^(f) Capgrav. Vit. Sanctor. fol. 156.

^(g) Collier's Church Hist. vol. i. p. 61.

^(h) Colgan, Act. SS. Hibern. p. 181.

apply, as his fancy leads him, some part of it to Gildas, whom he calls Albanus, and other parts to Gildas, whom he names Badonicus.

A. D. 511.

But the learned Father Bollandus^(a) and Father Mabillon^(b) refute this modern invention, chiefly grounded on legendary accounts attributed to Caradoc, or what John of Tinmouth, or Capgrave, have transcribed from him, and prove that there was but one Gildas, called Albanus from Albany, now Scotland, where he was born at Alcluyd or Dunbritton, surnamed, also, Badonicus, from Baddesdown-hill battle, because he was born in the year that this battle was fought. Vossius,^(c) also, and Dr. Stillingfleet^(d) make but one Gildas; and the late Dr. Smith,^(e) in his accurate edition of Bede's History, is of the same opinion, which is also the judgment of the exact critic, M. Baillet,^(f) in his life of this Saint, after having examined the various opinions concerning him.

I easily foresee that this account of Gildas may come to be contested by some of the learned of our neighbour nations, who pretend that there were two Saints of the name of Gildas, much about the same time; and that the famous Gildas, author of what is called "*Historia Britonum*," and of the epistle or invective against the princes and clergy of the Britons, was not a native of our northern parts of the island. But to the reasons and authorities I have already set down, I have this further to add in short, that all the writers of Gildas's life, whether he be by modern writers called Albanus or Badonicus, whether there was one Gildas only, or that he be divided into two persons, all the writers, I say, of the Lives of Gildas the historian, or writer, do assert that he was born in the north of Britain, called since Scotland. The abbot of Ruyse^(g) tells the particular place of his birth, which he calls Arcluyd or Alcluyd, now Dunbritton. Caradoc, in Bishop Ussher's extracts^(h) of his Life, says that Gildas was son to a king of the Scots, the most noble of all the northern kings; and Capgrave,⁽ⁱ⁾ from John of Tinmouth, affirms that Gildas's father was king of Albany.

^(a) Act. Sanctor. Bolland. ad 29 Januar.

^(b) Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. i. p. 150.

^(c) Vossius, de Scriptor. Latin.

^(d) Stillingfleet, Brit. Ant. p. 209.

^(e) Smith, edit. Bed. p. 58, in notis.

^(f) Baillet, Vies des Saints, 29 Janvier.

^(g) Vit. Gildæ apud Jo. Bos. c. i.

^(h) Excerpta ex Vit. Gildæ per Usser. apud Colgan. tom. i. p. 179, ex Caradoco Lancarvanen.

⁽ⁱ⁾ Vit. Gild. Capgrav. fol. 150.

A. D. 511.

By all this, it appears that Gildas, the most ancient writer of Britain now extant, was a native of that part of Britain now called Scotland. We shall see that the two next writers of Britain, Cumineus and Adamnan, were also both of them abbots of Ycolmkill in Scotland.

As to the year of Gildas's birth, I should be inclined rather to remain in the general, and assign it to the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth, century, without pretending, amidst so great variety of opinions, to determine the precise year of it, if the fixing of it were not necessary for regulating the chronology of his life and actions; so, amidst the various opinions about it, after a due examination, I have chosen to follow the date assigned by Matthew Westminster^(a) in his Chronicle, as the most probable, and which, for that reason, is followed by Bishop Ussher^(b) and others, that is, the year 520, in which, according to Westminster, happened the siege or battle of Bansdown-hill, and, by consequence, the birth of Gildas.

VI. All the writers of Gildas's life agree, as I said, that he was born in the northern parts of Britain, now called Scotland. The most authentic^(c) account that we have of it, to wit that of the abbot of Ruysse, says positively that Gildas was born at Arcluyd or Alcluyd, that is, Dunbritton; that he was son of the king of those parts, that is the king of the Middle-Britons, called afterwards Cumbrians; that his father's name was Caunus or Cau; he is also called Nau or Navus. His father had several sons, whereof the eldest was Cuil Hael, or Hoel, as it is differently pronounced. The British writers say that this Hoel was killed by their king Arthur; but the abbot of Ruysse^(d) tells that he succeeded his father in his kingdom. His other children were Mælocus, Egreas, Allæcus, and a daughter, Peteona, who all renounced the world, and passed their lives in retirement, and in the exercises of prayer, penance, and mortification, and became famous by the sanctity of their lives, and by their miracles: says my author.

But of all that happy family Gildas became the most eminent, not only by his piety, but by the service that he rendered to the Church, and by his writings. He was educated under the care of S. Iltut, or Eltut, a British abbot, whose monastery was a famous school or seminary in these days, in which were brought up, in piety and learning, many children of the best

^(a) M. Westmonaster. ad A.D. 520.

^(b) Ussher, Chron.

^(c) Vit. Gild. edit. Jo. Bos. c. i.

^(d) Ibid. c. ii.

quality in Britain. S. Iltut's first and chief application was to form the hearts of his disciples to solid piety, upon the maxims of the Gospel, but without neglecting to cultivate their minds with learning, for which he found in the young Gildas natural enduements. But he having, says my author,^(a) from his youth had the Holy Spirit for his inward master, he preferred the studies of piety to all others, and made those of human literature subservient to them. Thus he learned under Iltut, not the bare speculative knowledge of the truths of salvation, but the love and practice of them; so that in a short time he became the most humble, the most patient, and the most mortified of all his condisciples, and gave early hopes of his becoming one day, not only a pattern of Christian virtues, but a zealous preacher of the Gospel in the north of Britain and in Ireland; and though that happened only several years afterwards, yet not to interrupt the thread of the narration, I shall here add what concerns this great man till his passing over to Gaul, A.D. 554; and without wearying the reader any longer with tedious discussions about the chronology of his life, I shall content myself to abridge what the abbot of Ruysse relates of him.

Gildas having spent^(b) several years in Iltut's school, took his leave of him, and went to consult other masters. John Bosco's edition of Gildas's Life expresses this passage of it in these words: "*Iren perexit ut et aliorum Doctorum sententias exquireret.*" Colgan^(c) and some other writers pretend that by Iren here is meant Ireland, whither he supposes that Gildas went for further improvement; others say it should be read "*perexit Ieen,*" which is brought at last to signify Oxford, whither Gildas went to consult the Doctors. To say nothing here of this far fetched gloss, (which Stillingfleet^(d) justly calls sports of wit,) there is no appearance that the author of this Life is to be understood here of Ireland. Gildas, indeed, went afterwards to Ireland, as we shall see, and that he went not there as a scholar, but as a master, which gives this author occasion to speak several times of that island, but he always calls it by its usual names, *Hibernia* or *Hiberniensis Insula*; what likelihood, then, is there that in this place the author should have affected to call Ireland by an unusual name, known only to the learned, and probably to few or none, even among them, in the author's

A. D. 511.

^(a) Vit. Gild. c. iii.^(b) Ibid. c. vi.^(c) Colgan, Act. SS. Hibern. p. 189.^(d) Stillingfleet, Brit. Ant. p. 207.

A. D. 511. time, and thus go to borrow the name to it from Diodorus Siculus, a Greek writer, the only one, perhaps, even among the ancients, that calls Ireland by the name of Iris, and that instead of making use of its usual name, Hibernia, by which he calls it more than once in the same work.

This makes the learned Father Mabillon's^(a) reading of this passage incomparably more probable, and that the author's original words were "ire perexit," meaning that Gildas, after learning all he could be taught at at Iltut's school, "went forward" to consult the learned men of other monasteries, which in those days were the only schools or universities for learning. There was about this time, as we have already^(b) remarked, a famous one in the north of Britain, Gildas's own country, called the Great Monastery, "Magnum Monasterium," from the great number of religious men and disciples that were bred up there under the care of Bishop Nennio, to whom S. Finnan or Winuyn was sent from Ireland to be educated in piety and letters. I conceive it is not improbable that among other monasteries that Gildas resorted to for improvement in learning, this was one.

However Gildas having been by Nennio, or some other bishop in his own country, advanced to the degree of priesthood, and being animated^(c) with an apostolical zeal, went to the more northern parts of the island, and by his preaching and miracles converted many infidels, and reduced to the bosom of the Church, heretics and schismatics that had gone astray; as it is related more at length by the foresaid author of his Life. This same author adds to this, immediately, the message of Ainmire, King of Ireland, to Gildas, to invite him over to that island; but that happened only about the year 566, when Gildas was in the Gauls, where he passed over from Britain about the year 554, and settled in Little Britany, where he founded the monastery of Ruyse.

VII. About the beginning of this sixth century lived S. Kentigern, (called S. Mungo by the vulgar,) Bishop of Glasgow. Ussher^(d) places his birth about the year 514; but I conceive it ought rather to be placed at the end of the fifth century, since, according to the best account we have of his life, he was educated under the care of S. Servanus, who, according to Fordun, had been consecrated bishop by S. Palladius, which must have

^(a) Mabillon, Act. Benedict. tom. i. Vit. Gildæ.

^(b) Supra, Book Second, III.

^(c) Vit. Gild. c. viii.

^(d) Ussher, Ant. Brit. Ind. Chronolog.

happened about the year 440. according to the accounts the Scottish writers give of S. Palladius, that he lived and preached several years among the Picts and Scots, after his coming back from Ireland, about A.D. 432, as we have elsewhere^(a) related. Now Servanus being at least thirty years of age, according to the Canons, when he was consecrated bishop, could not, in the common course of nature, have lived long enough into the sixth century to educate S. Kentigern, and, by consequence, it seems more probable that Kentigern's birth happened in the end of the fifth age. However it is certain that he flourished chiefly in the sixth.

A. D. 511.

His Life written by Joceline, taken from two more ancient relations of it, and dedicated to another Joceline, who was Bishop of Glasgow from A.D. 1175 till A.D. 1199, is extant in a MS. of Cotton^(b) Library, written at full length, containing some important passages that are not in the compend of it published by Capgrave from John of Tinmouth. There is in the same Cotton Library an imperfect beginning of another more ancient Life of this Saint,^(c) but of no better character, written at the desire of Herbert, who sat Bishop of Glasgow in the same age, from 1147 till 1164. It is from these MSS., compared with the abridgment that we have of them in Capgrave, and from the preface to the ancient chartulary of Glasgow, that I shall take my accounts of S. Kentigern, who deserved to have had his Life written by more judicious and less credulous authors, and nearer his own time.

I pass over the account of his birth, of which there appears nothing certain, but rather fabulous, only that his mother's name was Thanew or Tenew, daughter to the king of the Midland Britons or Cumbrians. She lived afterwards a retired and penitential life, and was honoured as a Saint^(c) on the 18th day of July. Kentigern himself was educated under the care of the holy bishop Servanus, whose chief abode in his old age was at Cullenros or Culross, where he lived with a religious society of disciples. S. Kentigern, having resolved upon a more solitary life, left Servanus and passed into Cumbria. This country, according to Joceline,^(d) and the pre-

(a) Supra. Book First, XLI.

(b) MS. Cotton. Vitellius, C. VIII.

(c) [See this Life printed in the Chartulary of the Church of Glasgow; Appendix II. to Editor's Preface.]

(d) Breviar. Scot.

(e) Jocelin. Vit. S. Kentigerni. [Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum in Scotia; Vita Kentigerni, c. xi.]

A. D. 511. face of the old chartulary of Glasgow, included all the territories that lay towards the western coasts, betwixt the northern and southern walls, which formerly made a part of the province of Valentia, and composed at that time the kingdom of the Middle Britons. S. Kentigern upon his arrival there endeavoured to live unknown, and therefore retired to a solitary place, and gave himself to the exercises of prayer and mortification.

But the inhabitants of these parts being most part Christians, and their king and great men having founded a bishop's seat at Glasgow, which at this time happened to be vacant, Kentigern was by the order^(a) of God chosen for their bishop, not without great reluctancy on his side, and having sent to Ireland for a bishop, they caused him to be consecrated according to the form in use among the Britons and Scots, which, as the author adds, "consisted^(b) only in anointing the elect bishop's head with chrism, and in the imposition of the bishop's hands upon him, with invocation of the Holy Ghost or prayer and benediction." These rites sufficed, no doubt, for the validity of his consecration, but because it was performed by one single bishop (whereas the Canons require three), and that it seems some other usual ceremonies were wanting, the author excuses it by reason that these islanders being^(c) at a distance from the rest of the Christian world, and exposed to the infestation of Pagans, were become very ignorant of the Canons and customs of the Church; and the author adds that S. Kentigern travelled afterwards to Rome, and had any defects that might have happened in his consecration supplied by the Pope.

The Prince^(d) mentioned here was called Marcus or Marken, King of the Cumbrians or Midland Britons, who had his chief seat at Alcluyd or Dunbritton, near Glasgow. It was at this last place that S. Kentigern fixed his chief residence, and a great number of disciples assembling to him, he formed a numerous congregation of Religious men, who had all things in common, says the author, and lived according to the apostolical primitive form, and intermixed their prayers and spiritual functions with the labour of their hands. But the principal application of this holy bishop was to gain souls, travelling for that end everywhere through the country, not on

^(a) Jocelin. Vit. S. Kent. [Vit. Kent. c. xi.]

^(b) Ibid. [Vit. Kent. c. xi.]

^(c) Insulani quasi extra orbem positi, emergentibus paganorum infestationibus, canonum erant ignari, ecclesiastica ideo censura ipsis condescendens excusationem eorum admittit in hac parte. Ibid. [Vit. Kent. c. xi.]

^(d) Ibid. [Vit. Kent. c. xxi.]

horseback, but on foot, after the example of the Apostles. By these means he converted many infidels, abolished everywhere the remains of idolatry, reduced the heretics to the union of the Church, and began to divide the country into districts, as much as the circumstances of the people, infected by the Pagan Saxons, lately come in among them, could allow. A. D. 511.

For by this time the Saxons, who were infidels, after possessing themselves, as we have seen, of the best parts of the south of the island, had begun to get a footing in the more northern parts betwixt the walls, which not only hindered the settling of regular discipline among the ancient Christian inhabitants, but gave occasion to many of them to relapse into idolatry and superstition. This was a new exercise of the holy man's zeal to recover those that had fallen away, and to fortify those that were staggering in faith.

VIII. But whilst he was wholly taken up with this apostolical function, the devil,^(a) envying the success of his labours, stirred up some wicked men who had the king's ear, to irritate him against the Saint, and raised a persecution which obliged him to leave this country, and retire into the southern part of the island, now called Wales, where he settled at a place called Elwy, and by the example of his holy life, being followed by a number of disciples, he founded a monastery, which came afterwards to be a bishop's seat. For, as we have elsewhere observed, that most part of the cities and episcopal sees in Ireland had their origin from some holy man's retiring and assembling a numerous congregation of disciples, so, also, the same thing happened among the Scots, and even among the old Britons, where there had not been ancient Roman cities.

Joceline^(b) informs us that in S. Kentigern's monastery at Elwy, there assembled to him above nine hundred and sixty-five disciples, who all lived under regular discipline. That of this number, three hundred, who were illiterate, he appointed to till the ground, and feed cattle without the monastery; other three hundred he allotted to prepare nourishment and perform other necessary works within the monastery; and that he deputed the other three hundred and sixty-five, who were scholars, to celebrate the daily canonical Office, and these he divided again into several bands or companies, to the end that when one band had finished the Service of God in the church, another presently might succeed and begin the Office again, which being ended, a third company without delay resumed the same pious

^(a) Jocelin. Vit. S. Kent. [Vit. Kent. c. xxiij.]

^(b) Ibid. [Vit. Kent. c. xxv.]

A. D. 522. exercise. By this means prayers were offered to God, and his praise sung in the church, without intermission day and night.

What confirms this account that Joeline gives of S. Kentigern's monastery, is, that it is certain that the same pious practice of incessant prayers and praises of God, called *Laus perennis*, was in use^(a) in the same age in many of the great monasteries of France, such as those of S. Denys, S. Maurice, S. Benigne at Dijon, Luxeu, Marmoutier, &c., and probably in others of Britain and Ireland.

IX. A.D. 522. Galaam or Galanan Etelick, forty-first King of the Picts, dying, was succeeded by Drest or Dadrest, their forty-second king, who reigned one year only, and had for successor Drest or Durst, son of Gyrom, who reigned one year alone, and five years in partnership with Durst, son of Adrost, after whose death Drest or Durst, son of Gyrom, reigned other five years alone.

About this time, to wit, A.D. 523, is placed the death of S. Brigid, Virgin, so famous in Scotland, as well as in Ireland, her native country, where she founded the monastery of Kildare. In both these kingdoms and abroad, a great number of churches were dedicated to God under the name of this holy Virgin, whose feast is kept the first of February. Her death was soon after followed by that of Darlugtach, Virgin, her disciple: the same who came over^(b) to Britain during the reign of Nectan, the thirty-ninth king of the Picts, and concurred with him to the first foundation of the ancient church of Abernethy. Her feast is celebrated October the first.

A.D. 534. After the death of Durst, son of Gyrom, King of the Picts, Gartnach, son of Gyrom, succeeded, and was their forty-fourth king, and reigned seven years.

A.D. 535, died Comgal, third king of the Scots, and his son Conall being under age and not capable to govern in person, the crown devolved to Gabhran or Gauran, brother to the late king. He reigned twenty-two years. But I find no certain account of the transactions during his time. He is called Goran and Couran by our modern writers.

A.D. 541, Gartnach, the forty-fourth king of the Picts, was succeeded by Cealtrain or Kelturain, son of Gyrom, who, after one year's reign, had for successor Thalarg, son of Muircholach, who reigned eleven years. In

^(a) Mabillon, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. i. pp. 29, 46, 123, 174, 212, &c. 315, 342, 418, 422.

^(b) *Supra*, Book First, LV.

the second year of his reign, A.D. 542, is placed the death of King Arthur, to whom so many martial deeds are ascribed by the British writers. He is said^(a) to have had a sister called Anna, married to one Loth, whom they call king of the Picts, though no such name appears either in the catalogue in Fordun's History, or in the Pictish Chronicle, or in any of the other catalogues of their kings. The modern Scottish writers add, that from the name of this King Loth was derived that of the province of Lothian, not heard of till several ages afterwards. They give him for his children Walwanus and Modredus, who is also made king of the Picts, but all this seems originally grounded only upon the British stories of King Arthur, who, they say, was mortally wounded in a battle against this Modredus, assisted by the Scots and Picts, and was conveyed to Glastonbury, where he died and was buried. All which may be seen, with no small variety of circumstances, in the British writers, and in our modern historians Boece and Buchanan.

A. D. 542.

About these times died S. David, Bishop of Menevia, famous for the sanctity of his life, and for his miracles among the Welsh or old Britons, who hold him for their principal patron. His feast is celebrated the first of March.

X. A.D. 547, the kingdom of the Saxons in Northumberland began. We have elsewhere observed that the Saxons had long ago begun a settlement in these northern parts. But hitherto they had contented themselves with Chieftains or Dukes, depending on the king of Kent, till this year that Ida, having brought over with him new forces, and joined them with the rest of the Saxons, inhabitants of these northern parts, was the first that took the title of king.

This northern kingdom, which was the fifth of the Saxon Heptarchy, was afterwards divided into two states or little kingdoms, called Deira and Bernicia, which sometimes had each a proper king of its own, at other times they were both subject to one king.

That of Deira, according to mistaken accounts of some of the English^(b) writers, was extended from the River Humber to that of Tweed, which, say they, was the boundary of the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia. Others write, with much more probability, that Deira extended no farther than the River Tees, and make that river the boundary of these two little king-

^(a) Boeth. Hist. fol. pp. 151, 155, &c.

^(b) Ussher, Ant. Brit. pp. 212, 213.

A. D. 547.

doms. The English writers pretend also that the kingdom of Bernicia extended from the Tees or Tweed to the frith of Forth, on the Scottish sea. But these boundaries varied often, according as the Picts or Saxons were more or less powerful in these parts.

XI. It would, indeed, at first appear, by some expressions of Bede, that the Saxons had been masters of the territories to the south of the friths, and that the Pictish inhabitants of these parts were sometimes overrun and kept under by some of the more powerful of the Northumbrian kings; yet besides that Bede, being a Saxon writer, is not absolutely to be depended upon in the account he gives of the victories of the Saxon kings, nor of the extent he gives of their power and dominions over their neighbour princes and nations, enemies of the Saxons, he himself owns that the Picts recovered^(a) again their territories whereof the Saxons had possessed themselves; and the Picts remained so much masters of the countries to the south of the friths, that in the seventh or eighth century these provinces are called *Pictorum terra* even by Bede himself, in the^(b) *Life of S. Cuthbert*, according to the remarks of the last learned editor of Bede's History, and Bishop Trumwin, who had his seat at Abercorn, on the south side of the friths, is called by Bede himself *Pictorum*^(c) *Episcopus*, and, by consequence, his diocesan, or the inhabitants of the country where he resided, were Picts, though, according to Bede, they happened at that time, that is A.D. 681, to be subject to the Saxons. And Bede himself owns that this subjection was only transient, and lasted only about four years, till A.D. 685, that by the victory which Brude, king of the Picts, obtained over Egfrid, king of the Saxons, in a battle where King Egfrid himself was killed and his army routed by the Picts, by this victory, says^(d) Bede, "the Picts recovered their own lands which had been held by the English," which certainly must be understood of the lands to the south of the friths, for we nowhere read that the Saxons or English in those days ever possessed a foot of ground of the Pictish lands to the north of the friths; accordingly, in this defeat the Picts drove the English out of all their bounds, from the friths, says

(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 26.

(b) Vita S. Cuthberti, c. xi. Quodam tempore peregrinus (Cuthbertus) ad terram Pictorum quæ Niduari vocatur. (i. e. populus accolens ripas fluvii Nid in Solway fretum influentis). Not. D. Joan. Smith, editoris Hist. Bed.

(c) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 12.

(d) Ibid. lib. iv. c. 26. Nam et Picti terram possessionis suæ quam Angli tenueruntrecepérunt.

Mr. Collier,^(a) to the Tweed. And Whithern, or Candida Casa, in Galloway, is placed in *terra gentis Pictorum*, in Pictland, by Florence of Worcester,^(b) one of the most ancient English historians after Bede.

A. D. 547

All this considered, with what hath been said in the first part of this Essay, and in several places of this part, it cannot but seem very strange that so learned a writer as Bishop Ussher is deservedly esteemed, especially in the antiquities of Britain and Ireland, should let himself be so overruled by partiality against the right the Picts had, in ancient times, and from them the Scots, to Loudian or Lothian and the other territories to the south of the friths which belong to the kingdom of Scotland, as to advance that the Southern Picts, whom S. Ninian converted, had no^(c) habitation on the south side of the friths, but only on the north side, between these friths and the Grampian hills; whereas, besides all the authorities above set down, there remains still a lasting public monument of the Picts having been in possession of Lothian and the adjacent counties, since the eminent hills in the heart of Lothian still retain the name of Pictland hills, called by corruption Pentland hills by the vulgar, from the Saxon *Peohtaland* hills, as being more easily pronounced. And nothing shows how far national prejudices are capable to carry even learned men, than to observe that Bishop Ussher, to elude the force of this palpable proof of the Picts having been in ancient times the possessors and inhabitants of Lothian, is obliged to have recourse to a groundless conjecture of Buchanan,^(d) who, without the least proof from record or history, imagines that the Pictland hills (because the vulgar by corruption call them Pentland hills) had their name from one *Penthus*, never heard of before. But to be persuaded of the little solidity of this conjecture of Buchanan about *Penthus*, he himself speaking, some pages^(e) before, of the Pictland frith (called also by the vulgar *Pentland* frith) which divides *Caithness* from the *Orkney Islands*, had called it *Picticum fretum*, from the Picts, who in ancient times possessed all these northern parts. I thought it necessary to insist a little upon this notion of Bishop Ussher concerning the Pictish dominions, because of the abuse that some English and Irish writers make of his authority

(a) Church Hist. vol. i. p. 109.

(b) Flor. Wigorn. Chron. p. 688, edit. Francofurt. A.D. 1601. In *terra gentis Pictorum*, episcopus *Candidæ Casæ*.

(c) Ussher, Ant. Brit. pp. 348, 350.

(d) Buchanan, Hist. edit. Freebairn, p. 39

(e) Ibid. p. 20.

A. D. 553. against the independency of the kingdom of Scotland, especially as to those parts of it.

XII. A.D. 553. Talarg, King of the Picts, dying, was succeeded by Drest or Durst, son of Moneth, who having reigned one year, had for successor Galam, who reigned one year with Aleth, and another with Bride or Brude.

A.D. 556. This Brude, son of Meilochon, whom Bede^(a) calls a most powerful king, began to reign alone, and was the forty-ninth king of the Picts, and reigned thirty years. It was under his reign that the Gospel was preached by S. Columba to the Northern Picts, as we shall shortly see.

A.D. 557, died Gauran, the fourth king of the Scots, to whom succeeded his nephew Conal, son of Congal, and reigned fourteen years.

It was about these times that S. Kentigern returned back from Wales to his episcopal see at Glasgow, of which Joceline, in his Life, gives the following account. Whilst S. Kentigern^(b) governed the church and monastery that he had founded at Elwy, in Wales, whither he had been forced to retire, as we related before, by Marken, King of the Midland Britons or Cumbrians, many of the inhabitants of Cumbria had relapsed into idolatry, partly for want of pastors and instruction, partly by the mixture of the Saxons, as yet infidels, who had possessed themselves of a part of that country. This infidelity of the Cumbrians drew upon them the wrath of God and severe punishments.

At last Almighty God raised up another king called Rederec, whom Adamnan,^(c) in S. Columba's Life, makes mention of as having his chief seat at Alcluyd, now Dunbritton (ad petram Cloithe). This King Rederec, being a particular friend of S. Columba, a pious and zealous prince, and having resolved to restore to its purity the Christian Religion within his dominions, sent messengers with pressing letters to S. Kentigern, conjuring him with great instance to come back to his pastoral charge at Glasgow, upon which the holy man resolved to return.

But in the first place, not to leave the work he had begun, and which had so well prospered under his hand at Elwy, without providing for its preservation, he consecrated one of his choice disciples a bishop, his name

^(a) Regnante apud Pictos Bridio filio Meilochon rege potentissimo. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

^(b) Jocelin. Vit. S. Kent. [Vit. Kent. c. xxix.]

^(c) Adamnan. Vit. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 15

was Asaph, and he proved a prelate of so eminent sanctity, that the bishop's seat, formerly called Elwy, was afterwards called from his name S. Asaph, which it still bears. S. Kentigern having then established this pious person for his successor, accompanied with many of his former disciples, set out for Glasgow. King Rederec, attended by a great number of the people coming out to receive him, the holy bishop gave them his benediction, and among the other prayers he pronounced with authority these words: "Let all that obstruct the salvation of this people, and the preaching of the word of God, depart from hence." Upon which a great number of frightful spectres, says Joceline,^(a) fled away instantly in the sight of the people, leaving them in great fear and astonishment.

The Saint comforted and encouraged them, and took occasion from that apparition to excite in them a horror against worshipping false gods, among whom he names Woden, the false deity of the pagan Saxons (by which it appears that some of the inhabitants of these parts subject to King Rederec were Saxons). He also obtained to the king, by his prayers, a son, called Constantine, who afterwards, having succeeded his father in the throne, surpassed all his predecessors in sanctity of life, as well as in temporal dominions and riches.

Besides the holy man's labours in the dominions of King Rederec,^(b) "he purged from idolatry and heresy the country of the Picts, which, says Joceline, is called now (that is, in the twelfth century) Galloway. He converted Albany, he built churches, ordained priests and consecrated bishops some of his disciples, and founded in these parts many monasteries." The author adds, that S. Kentigern sent some of his disciples to preach the Gospel to the Orkney Islands, and other northern countries. He had also a solemn meeting with S. Columba, after the arrival of that holy abbot in Britain, of which afterwards.

Joceline and others relate, in particular, many miracles wrought by S. Kentigern; among others, that of recovering the queen's ring, which had been thrown in the river Clyde, and was, he says, found in the mouth of a salmon, which story no doubt gave occasion to the arms of the Church

^(a) Jocelin. Vit. S. Kent. [Vit. Kent. c. xxxii.]

^(b)Pictorum patriam, quæ modo Galvithia dicitur, et circumferentia ejus ab idolatria et hæretica pravitate contagione purgavit....Petit Albaniam,....ubi...ab idoli cultura et prophanis ritibus (purgavit)....Presbyteros et clerum ordinans et plures de discipulis in episcopos consecravit: multa in partibus illis monasteria fundavit. Jocelin. Vit. S. Kent. [Vit. Kent. c. xxxiv.]

A. D. 557. of Glasgow. But as these miracles, and such others, not very likely in themselves, are related only by authors that appear to have been too credulous, and who, besides, lived at too great a distance of time from the facts they relate, to be sufficiently informed of the truth of them, I pass them over, as I did those attributed to S. Ninian and S. Patrick. But notwithstanding my resolution to give no place in this Essay to uncertain miracles, I am not the less persuaded that the many conversions wrought by the preaching of these apostolical men were attended with true and certain miracles, as I have shown elsewhere.^(a)

Nor can I easily give credit to what Joceline relates of S. Kentigern's living to the age of one hundred and eighty-five years, and therefore I can affirm nothing of the precise year of his death, which Bishop Ussher^(b) places about A.D. 601. All that we know of more certain of the chronology of his life is, that he flourished in the sixth age, and died at Glasgow upon the thirteenth of January, on which day his festival was annually celebrated in a solemn manner in the Church of Scotland, by the name of S. Mungo, especially at Glasgow, where his body was preserved with great respect, and at his tomb, says my^(c) author, the blind recovered their sight, the deaf their hearing, the lame their going, the leprous were cleansed, and many other miracles were wrought, which drew the respect of all our countrymen, and in particular of our kings, bishops, and nobility, as appears by their grants and charters in favour of the Church of Glasgow, contained in the old chartulary; by which it appears also that among other marks of veneration of our kings for the memory of S. Kentigern, the town of Glasgow, from a burgh of baronry, belonging in property to the bishops of that see, was erected into a royal burgh, and the Church into a Metropolis.

XIII. I cannot finish what concerns S. Kentigern and the foundation of the Bishopric of Glasgow without taking notice of the act or writ of the Inquest^(d) of the ancient possessions of the Church of Glasgow, made A.D. 1117, by authority of David, Prince of Cumbria (afterwards King David I.), and attested by that Prince, by all the great men of his court, and by the four great Judges of Cumbria: it is the first writ of the foresaid

^(a) *Supra*, Book First, LVIII.

^(b) Ussher, *Ant. Brit. Ind. Chronol.*

^(c) Jocelin. in *Vit. S. Kent.* [*Vit. Kent. c. xliv.*]

^(d) *Chartul. vetus Glasg. fol. 1, in Collegio Scotor. Paris.* [*Regist. Episcop. Glasg. vol. i. pp. 3, 4, 5.*]

chartulary, and contains the most ancient and most authentic account that now remains of the first erection of that Church, and of S. Kentigern's being placed bishop in it, as we have related. And what is chiefly remarkable, it informs^(a) us that this Church had, after the death of S. Kentigern, during the course of many years, "a continued succession of bishops," which lasted until the Church and country itself were ravaged and destroyed by the invasion of different tribes of different nations (by which are no doubt meant the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Danes), by whom most of the ancient inhabitants (the remains of the old Britons of those parts, often mentioned in this Essay) were either forced away, or brought under the subjection to new masters.

A. D. 557.

The copies hitherto printed of this ancient Inquest of the possessions of the Church of Glasgow being very incorrect and full of faults, there shall be insert in the Appendix to this work an exact copy, taken from the ancient original chartulary.

The account contained in this ancient document, of six hundred years' standing, of S. Kentigern, Bishop, and the many bishops his successors in the see of Glasgow, in the sixth and following ages, could not fail to shock our countrymen of the Presbyterian way, especially the late Sir James Dalrymple, whose chief design in his Collections concerning the Scottish History being to endeavour to prove this surprising paradox, to wit, that the Christians in Scotland were Presbyterians as to doctrine and discipline, and especially as to the Hierarchy or Church Government, from their first receiving the Gospel, down till towards the eleventh or twelfth century, this being, I say, his design, he could not but be alarmed with an account of a succession of bishops in the sixth and seventh ages, especially in that part of Scotland which hath been, since the new Reformation, the chief bulwark and seat of Presbyterian principles.

He therefore sets about to contest the truth of the relation contained in the instrument of the Inquest of the possessions of Glasgow Church, though it be one of the most ancient acts or instruments that we have left us of the Church of Scotland, attested by the religious prince, Count David, afterwards first of that name King of Scotland, and honoured as a Saint, by the Princess his spouse, by the prime nobility of his court, and by the four great Judges of the country, inregistered near five hundred

(a)Post multa temporum curricula.....Sancto Kentigerno, pluribusque successoribus suis pia religionis perseverantia ad Dominum transmigratis, diversæ seditiones, circumquaque insurgentes, &c. Chartul. Glasg. MS. fol. 1. Dalrymple, Coll. p. 337.

A. D. 557. years ago in the ancient chartulary of Glasgow, called of old the Red Book of Glasgow, and still extant.

One would have naturally expected from this learned gentleman some positive proof to support his attempt to disprove so authentic a public evidence of so long standing; and I hope it will serve with impartial readers for a confirmation of the account we have from it of S. Mungo, and of his many successors in the episcopal dignity, that a person so versed in all that remains of ancient history or records of Scotland, and one so zealous against episcopal government and succession, where he treats the subject designedly, could find nothing to invalidate the force of this testimony but negatives, that is, the bare^(a) silence of Bede, and of other Saxon writers, from whom no account of S. Mungo, or of the bishops his successors, however certain they may have been, could be reasonably expected by any impartial person that considers the whole tenor of Bede's History, and his declared intention in writing it; and the same I say of the other English or Saxon writers.

XIV. But because this negative argument, grounded upon the silence of Bede, however insignificant it be when duly considered, hath been more than once objected against the Civil as well as Religious parts of our Antiquities, I shall for once endeavour to go to the bottom of it, though it hath been touched^(b) elsewhere, and show how little force there is in it.

And, in the first place, it suffices, methinks, to read the bare title of Bede's History to be persuaded that his intention in writing it was only to give account of the Ecclesiastical History of the English or Saxon nation, "*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*," and whoever will examine it with attention, will find that Bede, all along in it, hath confined himself almost scrupulously within that compass; that, accordingly, he gives us an exact account of the Conversion of the Saxons, of the progress of the Gospel among them, of the chief instruments of their Conversion that Almighty God was pleased to make use of in the several provinces of England, of the first bishops of each province or little kingdom, of the succession, interruptions, and restorations of their bishops, and the erection and alteration of their bishop's seats, and all this from their first settlement, till he brings them down to his own time. And thus Bede hath completely answered the expectation that the title of his book gave his reader.

^(a) Dalrymple, Coll. pp. 341, 342.

^(b) Crit. Essay, p. 655.

He hath even gone beyond it, for having considered that the ecclesiastical history of a country or nation can never be well understood without that the civil part of its history be put in due light, Bede begins his account of the Saxons by relating the occasion of their first coming in, and of their settlement in the island, and continues on the account of their progress in Britain, of the erection of the several kingdoms of the Heph-tarchy, and the succession, names, and chief actions of their kings, down till the time he wrote.

A. D. 557.

But as to the other inhabitants of the island, to wit, the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots, Bede could not indeed dispense himself from giving some account of them, they being the most ancient inhabitants of Britain, settled in it long before the Saxons came in, and after their coming in, their affairs civil and ecclesiastical were frequently so interwoven with those of the ancient inhabitants, that what concerned the Saxons could never be explained without mentioning the Britons, Picts, or Scots, as they happened to interfere in them. Accordingly, Bede, in the first chapter of his History, being to give a short description of the island and of its ancient inhabitants, could not omit giving an account of the first settlement of these three nations, to give light to the sequel of his History, and prepare the way for the coming in of the Saxons. And for the same reason he begins the chapter following with an account of the Romans entering the island, and of their settlements in it, which he continues afterwards till the state of their affairs abroad forced them at last to abandon it.

Neither could Bede, in order to give light to his main subject, to wit, the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, dispense himself from at least making mention of the Conversion to Christianity of the ancient inhabitants of Britain: he speaks also more than once of the bishops of the Britons in general, upon occasion of their conference with S. Augustine, Apostle of the Saxons, but not only he gives no account of the erection of their episcopal seats, nor of the succession of their bishops, as he does of those of the Saxons, but he doth not in all his History give us the name so much as of one single bishop of the Britons. Must we, therefore, doubt that there were such bishops among the Britons as the three we find present at the first Council of Arles, A D. 314, because Bede mentions none of them? Or must we doubt that there ever were such bishops among the Britons as Dubricius, Samson, Asaph, or even the famous S. David, chief

A. D. 557. patron of the old Britons or Welsh, because we find not in Bede so much as one of their names ?

Now, since Bede, either for want of information, or because he thought it unnecessary to the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, hath not recorded the succession of the British bishops, nor so much as the single name of any one of them, with what ground can his silence of S. Kentigern and his many successors, bishops of Glasgow, among the Midland or Northern Britons, be alleged as an argument against the account we have of them in the most ancient record we have remaining of the town and Christianity of Glasgow, a record drawn up with such solemnity in so great an assembly, attested by the Prince, and all the great men of that country, above six hundred years ago ?

Much less can the silence of Bede, and his never mentioning any of the names of the ancient bishops of the Scots and of the Picts, be alleged as an argument that they had no bishops, since that same famous passage of Bede, which is so often alleged, and with so great ostentation, by the Presbyterian writers, against the superiority of bishops over simple presbyters, demonstrates, according to the interpretation of the ablest writer that ever the Presbyterians had, that the Scots and Picts had bishops in the most ancient times. Bede's words are : " This^(a) island (Hy) hath an Abbot, who is a priest, for its ruler, to whose direction all the province, and even the bishops, contrary to the usual order, are subject." Now Blondel^(b) himself, the most learned of all the Presbyterian writers, and the chief fountain whence all their common writers draw their arguments, explains with reason the word " province " in this passage, of the territories of the Picts and Scots, and, in consequence, he infers from it that the bishops mentioned here by Bede, were those of the Picts and of the Scots that were, according to Bede, subject to the Abbot of Ycolmkill.

We shall discuss this passage, and the nature of the subjection mentioned in it, in its proper place ; I mention it only here to prove that, according to Bede, the Picts and Scots had bishops in S. Columba's time, and in that of his successors, and yet Bede never gives us the name of one

^(a) Habere autem solet ipsa insula (Hy) rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

^(b) Pictorum Scotorumque septentrionalium episcopi, &c. Blondel, Apolog. S. Hieronymi, p. 370.

of them, excepting those alone who were employed in the Conversion of the Saxons, whose history was all that Bede had in view. And thus far as to the arguments drawn from the silence of Bede, especially concerning S. Kentigern and his successors, Bishops of Glasgow.

A. D. 557

XV. The desolation, above-mentioned, of this Church, and of the ancient inhabitants of Cumbria, happened about the eighth or ninth century, and upon that disaster followed in course the interruption of the episcopal succession in those parts; but such was the goodness of God, and his paternal care for the preservation of the necessary means of salvation among these desolate inhabitants, that no sooner was the episcopal succession interrupted at Glasgow, in the one extremity of Cumbria, or the kingdom of the Midland Britons (and in course, with the cessation of the episcopal ministry, especially of ordination, a stop put to the propagation to posterity of all true ministers of the Word and Sacraments, in a word of a Christian Church), but about the same time, that is, about the beginning of the eighth age, the most ancient episcopal see of Candida Casa or Galloway, at the other end of Cumbria, was by a special providence of God re-established^(a) by the Northumbrian Saxons (converted to Christianity in the seventh age, as we shall see, by the Scots) and the bishopric of Galloway or Candida Casa being restored, the necessary pastors were duly ordained, and sent to the rest of the diocese of Glasgow.

But such were the confusions of the civil state of that country during these miserable times, arising from the perpetual struggle of the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Danes, worrying one another about the possession of it, that the country of Galloway^(b) being almost quite destroyed, the episcopal succession was again interrupted, after it had lasted since its restoration, under the administration of six bishops, according to Florence^(c) of Worcester, who gives us their names (Malmesbury mentions only four of them), during the space of above one hundred years, and from thenceforth the Christians of that country, in order to be furnished with lawful pastors, were obliged to have recourse to the Bishops of Holy Island, Hexham, S. Andrews, and others in their neighbourhood, till the restoration of the episcopal sees of Galloway and Glasgow, by King Malcolm Canmore and his children.

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 23.

^(b) Malmesbur. de Gestis Pontif. lib. iii. fol. 156, 156.

^(c) Flor. Wigorn. Chron. p. 688.

A. D. 557.

But this happened long afterwards, and will be treated in its proper place. What I have said here, by anticipation, upon occasion of S. Kentigern and his successors in the see of Glasgow, is only in order to show that all these inhabitants betwixt the walls, the most ancient Christians of what is since called Scotland, had always enjoyed, down from the first erection of a Christian Church by S. Ninian, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, a succession of bishops, as much as the convulsions of the State, by the invasion of infidels, or other enemies, had left bishops at liberty to reside, and the Christians at freedom to possess and exercise their religion, and to enjoy their lands and liberties.

But when we observe these western provinces so frequently ravaged and destroyed, and the civil government so often overturned, can we wonder that the government of the Church, which is so connected with the peace of the State, suffered frequent interruptions! So that I dare confidently advance that we have in all ages equal proofs of an episcopal government in Scotland, as we have of a Christian Church, particularly in these western parts of the kingdom (where,^(a) since the Knoxian Reformation, by the new spirit which the authors and promoters of this new form of doctrine and discipline have inspired to the inhabitants, they have distinguished themselves from all the rest of the kingdom by an aversion, which hath too often degenerated into rage and fury, not only against the Catholics, from whose hands they received the knowledge of Christianity and the books of the Holy Scripture, but even against the poor remains of the episcopal Order, such as it hath been endeavoured to be kept up among their brethren of the Protestant Communion).

XVI. Thus far as to the ancient state of Christianity in the southern and western parts of Scotland: we are now, according to the order of time, to continue on the progress of its doctrine and discipline in the more northern parts of the kingdom, where, though the Gospel had begun to be preached long ago, yet the propagation of it, and the total Conversion of the northern inhabitants, especially of the Picts, was chiefly owing to the great S. Columba and to his disciples, and even as to the Southern Picts, by what we have had occasion to observe in what hath been related of their history, it doth not appear that hitherto Christianity had been so well settled, and so deeply rooted among them as not to have suffered some

^(a) Q. whether this parenthesis ought not to be left out as being too harsh, though too true?

eclipses, by reason of their warlike temper, their being almost still upon expeditions, and the instability of the civil government, and other impediments of the spirit of Christianity elsewhere mentioned. Whereas, by the conversions made among the Picts, by the preaching, the example, and the miracles of S. Columba and his disciples, by the pious institutions of so many monasteries within the bounds of the Picts, and in their neighbourhood among the Scots, especially that of Ycolmkill, which, by the admirable lives of its holy inhabitants, raised up to a degree of Christian perfection, far exceeding the ordinary course of human nature, became a shining lamp that enlightened all the countries around, by all this, I say, Christianity was so deeply rooted among these people that it never afterwards suffered any considerable interruption.

A. D. 557.

And whereas in the accounts we have hitherto given of the first establishment and progress of the Gospel in those northern parts, we have often, for want of vouchers, been obliged to depend upon what could be gleaned from ancient writers, sometimes upon likely conjectures drawn from the circumstances of the people, of the neighbourhood, and of the times, and upon the authority of writers who were either too credulous, or lived too long after the transactions they treat of, to be fully relied on, we have the Life of S. Columba from the hands of two abbots, his successors in Ycolmkill, who may be both in some manner reckoned almost contemporary with the Saint, at least both of them well informed, upon the place, of all that concerned him, since the first of the two, Cumineus, might have possibly seen S. Columba himself, and undoubtedly had his accounts from those of Ycolmkill who had conversed with the Saint, and had been witnesses to his life and actions.

XVII. S. Adamnan, the other writer of his Life, and his successor also in the government of Ycolmkill, where he sat Abbot from A.D. 679 till A.D. 704, besides that he had the records and monuments left by the abbots his predecessors, and by other religious men of this abbey, he had also conversed with some of the ancients, as yet alive in his time, who had been witnesses of many of S. Columba's actions and miracles, as he himself^(a) often assures us. So there can be no doubt made of his being fully informed of all that concerned the holy abbot.

And as to his veracity, as well as to his capacity and character of probity,

^(a) Adamnan. Vit. S. Columbæ, lib. i. cc. 1, 2, 38, 42, 49; lib. ii. cc. 44, 45, 49; lib. iii. cc. 19, &c.

A. D. 557. Bede, one of the most capable judges of these times, who knew Adamnan, gives^(a) him the character of "a good and wise man, thoroughly instructed in the knowledge of the Scriptures."

Adamnan was besides in great credit and esteem with the greatest and most considerable men of Britain in his time, such as Alfrid, King of the Northumbrians, to whom he was twice sent in embassy from the Scots and Picts, with the learned Ceolfrid, Abbot of Weremouth, who knew him personally, and calls^(b) him "the excellent Abbot of the Columbites," and says that "his words and actions were graced with a wonderful prudence, humility, and piety."

This being the character given of Adamnan by his contemporaries, the greatest men and best judges of merit in Britain during his time, we may surely, and without any hesitation, depend upon the protestation that he makes in the preface to his work, to wit, "that^(c) in writing his relation of S. Columba, he had not only set down nothing against truth, nor dubious or uncertain reports, but that he had made use of such accounts only as he had assurance of, either by the relations of his predecessors, or of other ancient persons worthy of faith, and well-informed, who knew matters by themselves, and related them to him without any hesitation, or in fine, from written relations which he found done before his time."

And that this Life of S. Columba, in three books, was truly the genuine work of S. Adamnan, Abbot of Ycolmkill, besides the testimony of the MS. of Cotton Library, of which afterwards, we have not only the testimonies of all the Irish writers, such as Ussher,^(d) Wareus,^(e) Messingham,^(f) Colgan,^(g) &c., but also those of all the most learned among other foreign

^(a)Erat (Adamnanus) vir bonus et sapiens, et scientia Scripturarum nobilissime instructus. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 15.

^(b) Adamnanus egregius Abbas et Sacerdos Columbiensium...miram in moribus ac verbis prudentiam, humilitatem, religionem ostendit. Ceolfrid Abbas Wiremuthen. epistola ad Naitan Regem Pictorum, apud Bed. Lib. v. c. 21.

^(c) Nemo me de hoc tam predicabili viro (Columba) aut mentitum æstimet, aut quasi dubia vel incerta scripturum; sed ea quæ majorum fideliūque virorum tradita expertorum, congrua relatione narrantium, et sine ulla ambiguitate narraturum sciat, et vel ex his quæ ante nos inserta paginis reperire potuimus, vel ex his, quæ auditā ab expertis quibusdam fidelibus antiquis, sine ulla dubitatione narrantibus, diligentius seiscitantes didicimus. Adamnan. Præfat. secund. ad Vit. S. Columbæ.

^(d) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 367.

^(e) Ware, de Scriptor. Hibern. p. 34.

^(f) Messingham, in Florileg.

^(g) Colgan, in Triad. Thaumaturg.

writers who had occasion to mention it, such as Canisius,^(a) who gave us the first imperfect edition of it, the Bollandian Collectors of Saints' Lives, who published a perfect edition of it, Father Mabillon,^(b) Mr. Cave,^(c) &c., who all of them, as well as other learned men who mention it, acknowledge it a genuine work of Adamnan, and nobody that I know ever called it in doubt but Sir James Dalrymple, and his anonymous friends at Edinburgh: and whether their authority will be able to cope with that of those above mentioned, I leave to others to judge. An easy matter it is to deny a work to be genuine, but not so easy to prove it so.

A. D. 557.

But that the reader may not be led into mistake by imperfect editions, and may find out more easily the passages I have had occasion to quote from Adamnan's work, I thought it not amiss here to give a more distinct account of the several editions of it, because there are considerable differences betwixt them, according as the MSS. copies they are taken from are more or less perfect and complete.

There are four printed editions of S. Columba's Life by Adamnan. The first, published A.D. 1604, at Ingolstadt, by Canisius, from a very lame and imperfect MS. copy, or rather abstract of it, in the monastery of Windeberg, in Bavaria. And from this printed edition of Canisius, Thomas Messingham, an Irishman, hath given us a second edition, with all the faults and defects of the former; and in both the one and the other there are wanting a great many full chapters of Adamnan's genuine work. The same imperfect copy is inserted in Surius's Collection of Saints' Lives. The third edition was published by Father Colgan, with notes and dissertations, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, printed at Louvain, A.D. 1647. This edition, which I have followed, is taken from a very ancient MS. of the Abbey of Richenau (Angia Dives), situated in an island of the Lake of Constance. It contains a full and entire copy of Adamnan's genuine work, and hath all the chapters wanting in Canisius's edition. The fourth edition was given by Father Papebroch, and the other continuators of the Bollandian Acts, from the same ancient MS. of the Abbey of Richenau, reviewed again and accompanied with notes of the learned editors. Both these two last editions, being taken from the same MS., are in substance the same, both of them contain the same divisions, and number of books and chapters, and conclude

^(a) Canisius, in editione Vit. S. Columbæ, per Adamnan.

^(b) Mabillon, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. i. p. 618.

^(c) Cave, de *Scriptorib.* p. 389.

A. D. 557. with the adjuration of Adamnan to the transcribers (of which afterwards), and with the petition of the transcriber, Dorbenius, whom Father Colgan conjectures to have been Abbot of Ycolmkill in the eighth age.

There is also a fair copy of this work of Adamnan in a very curious Collection of Saints' Lives in Cotton Library,^(a) written above four hundred years ago. This copy of S. Columba's Life, as far as I could judge (having, at the time I saw it, none of the printed editions at hand to collationate with it), this MS. copy of Cotton Library, I say, appeared to me entirely conformable to the MS. copy of Richenau, whence the two last above-mentioned perfect editions are taken. It appears also to have been transcribed from a former copy, written in Ycolmkill, by order of one of our King Alexanders, by a monk called Simeon, under the direction of William, Abbot of Ycolmkill. This appears, I say, by verses added to the end of the Life in this Cotton MS., a part of which verses Bishop Ussher^(b) hath set down, and a full copy may be inserted in the Appendix to this work. In fine, lest it might be alleged that, notwithstanding the authority due to Adamnan's genuine work, such as it came immediately from his own hand, yet posterior credulous writers might have made additions to it, or interpolations in transcribing it, so that the copies we have of it might happen not to be genuine, providence hath also taken care to obviate this objection, and given us an assurance of the integrity and authenticity of the transcripts of this work of Adamnan, greater than we have of most other works transmitted to us from ancient times, and that by the solemn adjuration^(c) with which Adamnan concludes this work, and which he addresseth to all that shall in after times copy and transcribe it: conjuring them in the name of Christ, Judge of the world, to transcribe it with the greatest care and fidelity, and to collationate and correct it with utmost diligence, upon the copy from whence they transcribe it, and at the same time recommending earnestly to them to add this adjuration to each copy they make of it: to the end that by that means it may be conveyed down to posterity, and accordingly it hath been handed down, and is to be met with in the ancient MS. copies,

^(a) Cotton Library, Tiberius, D. VIII.

^(b) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 364.

^(c) Obsecro eos quicumque voluerint hos describere Libellos, immo potius adjuro per Christum, Judicem seculorum, ut postquam diligenter descripserint, conferant et emendent cum omni diligentia ad exemplar unde traxerunt, et hanc quoque adjurationem hoc in loco subscribant. Ad calcem Vitæ S. Columbæ, per Adamnanum, editæ per P. Colganum et PP. Bollandian. ex MS. Angiæ Divitis. Habetur etiam in MS. Cottoniano.

and particularly in these from whence the two last printed editions of it have been taken, as also it is in the MS. of the Cotton Library. A. D. 657.

So it would appear that Providence hath taken a special care, not only to preserve and bring down to posterity this ancient monument of the doctrine and discipline of Christianity in our northern parts, but to ascertain beyond the common course the authenticity and fidelity of it, to the remotest ages: foreseeing, no doubt, that there would one day, in after ages, arise in our country a set of men, who, not being able, or not daring to contest the sanctity of S. Columba's life against the respect and veneration due to his memory by all our countrymen, and still paid to it by those of the Highlands and Isles, where he chiefly conversed, and yet less daring to contest his quality of founder, or chief doctor of Christianity, by himself and by his disciples, in our northern parts, attested beyond exception by Bede and all ancient writers, they would at least endeavour, against the plain evidence of this ancient monument, as we will see, to impose upon their ignorant prepossessed sectators, and persuade them that the doctrine, church government, and discipline taught and settled by S. Columba and his disciples among the Scots and the Picts, was Presbyterian, and as different from that of the rest of the Catholic Church, as the apostolical method practised by this holy man, and by his disciples in planting and promoting the Christian religion among our ancestors, by the edification of their exemplary lives, formed upon the strictest maxims of the Gospel, convincing their hearers of their divine mission, and confirming their doctrine by sensible miracles, as, I say, this apostolical method was different from the Knoxian method of reforming religion, by arming the subjects against their lawful sovereign at home, and inviting from abroad an armed power to support their Reformation.

But to return back to Adamnan's Life of S. Columba. I insist the more upon asserting the authority of it (as imperfect as it seems), that besides what it contains of the life and actions of the Saint, it is the most ancient and most authentic voucher now remaining of several other important particulars of the sacred and civil history of the Scots and Picts, as it will appear in its proper place in the order of time. It had indeed been much to be wished that Adamnan, and his predecessor Cuminius, both of them writers of S. Columba's life, had insisted more upon historical facts, which might have given us greater light into the transactions of these ancient times, than upon the miracles of the Saint. But to do them justice,

A. D. 557. that is not so much their fault as it is that of the times or age in which they wrote ; and the same bad taste that reigned in the Lives of many other Saints, written in the seventh and eighth age, is no doubt the reason why we find so little method and order of time, as well as so little choice of facts, observed in this Life of S. Columba.

And I cannot but add here, upon this work of S. Adamnan, the same observation that I mentioned elsewhere, upon occasion of the negative arguments which the Presbyterian writers endeavour to draw from the silence of Bede upon certain facts and subjects that he had not proposed to himself to treat of, and which had no necessary connexion with the matter he proposed to handle in his History.

Bede and Adamnan propose to themselves to write upon certain limited subjects, and their character in general seems to be to keep close to what they proposed, without mixing in other matters, except in as far as they served to give light to the subject in hand. Thus, Bede having proposed to himself to write the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, limits himself to that, as we have seen, and therefore gives us little or no further account of the ecclesiastical history of the neighbouring nations, to wit, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Irish, than what was necessary to illustrate or give light to the history of the Saxons or English, and that only by the by, and as it hath a connexion with the subject he speaks of. So also, Adamnan in this work having proposed to treat of the life and actions of S. Columba in three books, that is, to relate in the first his prophetic revelations ; in the second, his miracles wrought by Divine power ; and in the third, the angelical apparitions made to him ; he, in consequence, reduces all he has to say to these three heads, and limits to them his relation of S. Columba's life and actions. So that all other matters, all persons and places which he mentions, come only in by the by, and as they have connexion with one or more of the three foressaid heads.

From this it visibly follows that all arguments drawn from Adamnan's silence of, or his not mentioning, such and such persons and affairs that do not belong to some one of the three heads he had in view, can be of no force to prove that there were no such persons or affairs, in the times that he treats of. And, by consequence, no proof can be drawn from this work of Adamnan that there were no ordinary bishops among the Picts and Scots in the times that Adamnan writes of, because he gives no distinct accounts of their names or seats. It is enough that the respect due to the episcopal

Character, and rendered to it even by S. Columba himself, the necessity of episcopal ministration for the ordination of priests in S. Columba's times, appears evidently by this work, and that bishops were to be found among the Scots and Picts upon a call, and were never wanting when there was need of them for ordinations.

A. D. 557.

XVIII. And notwithstanding the defects and imperfection of Adamnan's work, which, making allowance for the age in which he wrote, and the design of his work, are very excusable, it must be acknowledged that we owe very much to him, for the detail which the setting forth the miracles of S. Columba obliged him to enter into, from which, besides what his work contains of the Saint's life, and of the doctrine and discipline which he planted among the Scots and Picts, we have even as to our civil history the names of six of our ancient kings,^(a) to wit, Gauran, Comgal, Conal, Aidan, Eochod-buid, and Donnal-breac, before the History of Bede (from which we have the first account of the Saxon or English kings) was written. So that I cannot enough admire the confidence with which one of the most learned among our Scottish Presbyterian writers (who hath otherwise given more than ordinary proofs, in his way, of zeal for the Scottish antiquities, and of his being versed in them), tells us very dogmatically, that it was agreed^(b) on all hands (no doubt those of his party), that Adamnan's Life of S. Columba was a fabulous history lately published in his name, &c. But this only shows that Adamnan's work was not esteemed by those gentlemen, favourable to the Presbyterian scheme of doctrine and discipline, nor to the remote antiquities of the Scots, and to Boece's plan of their history, both which this late writer endeavours to vindicate.^(c)

And indeed the most valuable part of Adamnan's work is the many particulars that may be learned from it of the doctrine and discipline of Christianity, such as they were taught and practised among the Scots and Picts in ancient times under S. Columba's eye, and by his authority, which the foresaid Presbyterian writer, and others of his way (taking advantage of the general ignorance we have hitherto lived in, since the destruction of our ecclesiastical monuments, carried on chiefly by their forerunners), have so wildly misrepresented, that if one could believe them, our first and

^(a) Adamnan. Vit. S. Columbæ, lib. I. cc. 7, 8, 9, 49; [Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum in Scotia, Vit. secund. Columb. c. 50;] lib. iii. c. 5.

^(b) Vindication of Sir James Dalrymple's Hist. Collect. p. 21.

^(c) Hist. Collect. Sir James Dalrymple, cc. 1, 2, 3, &c.

A. D. 557. most ancient Christianity was of a quite different species, both as to doctrine and discipline, from that of all the rest of the Christian Churches of the polished world, and particularly from those that were immediately planted by the Apostles themselves.

Besides the history of S. Columba's life left us by Cumian and Adamnan, Bede also, and other ancient writers, furnish light into it. And among the moderns, Archbishop Ussher, in his *British Antiquities*, Father Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, and Father Papebroch, have made considerable Collections on this subject. It is from all these monuments that I have drawn the following account of S. Columba and of his monasteries.

XIX. S. Columba was descended of the royal family of Ireland, whereof he was a native. His father's name^(a) was Feidlimid, son of Conal-Gulban, who was son to Niel, surnamed of the nine hostages, and died king of all Ireland about A.D. 404. His mother's name was Æthne, who was admonished,^(b) whilst with child, of his future greatness; he was born A.D. 521, and for his first education he was committed to the care of Cruithnócan, a pious priest, who returning home one day from the church after mass, says Adamnan,^(c) found all the room where the child lay, illustrated with a bright splendour, flowing from a globe of fire that reposed above the child. He was afterwards sent to Finian^(d) or Finnio, who is also named Findbar, a holy bishop, who had a famous seminary or school of piety and learning, in his monastery at Clonard, in Ireland, where assembled to him a great number of disciples, of whom many became afterwards bishops and abbots, the most famous in Ireland for the sanctity of their lives and for their learning and zeal for the salvation of souls.

Among all these, S. Columba was eminent for all sort of virtues, gifts, and graces. "From^(e) his childhood, he gave himself," says Adamnan, "to the service of God, to the practice of Christian perfection, and to the study of wisdom, preserving, by a special gift of God, the purity and integrity of his body and mind; and though he lived here upon earth, yet his conversation was in heaven. He had an angelical countenance, his discourse was pure and chaste, his actions holy, an excellent ingine, a great discretion,

^(a) Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*. p. 447; Adamnan. *Prefat. secund. in Vit. S. Columb.* [Vit. secund. Columb. lib. i. c. 1.]

^(b) Adamnan. *Ibid.*

^(c) *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 2.

^(d) *Ibid.* lib. ii. c. 1. Vita S. Finiani, apud Colgan. tom. i. p. 393.

^(e) *Prefat. secund. Adamnan. Vit. S. Columb.* [Vit. secund. Columb. lib. i. c. 1.]

never letting pass one hour in which he was not applied either to prayer, to reading, to writing, or to some useful labour. His fasting and watching surpassed the common course of human ability. With all this, preserving always an equanimity and agreeable temper, he was most acceptable to all those he lived with; and the cheerfulness of his countenance, accompanied with modesty, show that his soul was replenished with spiritual joy and the inward consolation of the Holy Ghost." It was during his abode in this monastery, that being^(a) in the Order of deacon, it happened that the holy Bishop Finian, his master, being about to offer the holy Sacrifice,^(b) and there being no wine, S. Columba, by his prayers, changed water into wine. Being afterwards promoted to the dignity of priesthood, he founded several monasteries in Ireland before he came over^(c) to Britain, of which, that which was called Dearmach, that is, the Field of Oaks, was chief. It is called by Adamnan^(d) *Roboretum Campi*, in the same sense; it is now called Durrugh, in King's County, and is to be distinguished from another monastery, founded also by S. Columba, in Ulster, and called likewise, from the abundance of oaks, *Roboretum*^(e) *Calcheghi*, now Derry; in both which monasteries, and others that he founded in Ireland, he placed the more accomplished of his disciples for Superiors.

A. D. 557.

XX. As to the occasion of S. Columba's coming over to Britain, the chief cause, no doubt, was the merciful disposition of Divine Providence towards the inhabitants of the northern parts of our island, but as to the immediate cause, the Irish writers^(f) after Adamnan give this account of it. That Dermot, King of Ireland, being provoked without any just ground against the kindred of S. Columba, marched against them with great forces, in a resolution to destroy their country, and extirpate the inhabitants; upon which, they being but a small number in comparison of King Dermot's army, had recourse to S. Columba, who obtained of God to them by his prayers a signal victory over their enemies, who were routed with a great slaughter. This battle was called *Cuiledreme battle*, and happened A.D. 561.

However innocent S. Columba was of this bloodshed, it is said he was

(a) Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 1.

(b) *Sacrificale Mysterium*. Adamnan. *ibid*.

(c) *Bed. Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 4.

(d) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 29; lib. ii. c. 2. Ware, *Ant. Hibern.* p. 186.

(e) *Ibid.* lib. i. c. 2, 20. lib. iii. c. 15. Ware, *Ant. Hibern.* p. 214.

(f) *Ussher, Ant. Brit.* pp. 467, 468, &c.

A. D. 561. excommunicated in a Synod by the Irish Churchmen of the adverse party. But this sentence was looked upon as null and unjust by all the most religious men of the time, both at home and abroad. Among others, S. Brandan coming to the Synod, gave them such proofs of S. Columba's sanctity that he obliged^(a) those that had pronounced this sentence to acknowledge the injustice of it, and to pay a due respect to S. Columba. S. Gildas also, who by this time was gone over to the Gauls, being consulted^(b) about this sentence, by a letter from S. Columba, declared the sentence unjust and foolish, and kissed the letter, declaring publicly that he that had written it was full of the Spirit of God. But S. Columba, though not conscious to himself of any real sin in praying for the protection of God, and good success to his relations in their own defence against an unjust invader, not satisfied with the judgments of the two holy abbots, Brandan and Gildas, in favour of his innocence, thought fit, out of humility, and for the respect he bore to the episcopal Character, to submit his case to the good bishop, S. Finian or Findbar, his old master, and ask counsel of him. Though S. Finian was equally persuaded, as all other holy men, of the injustice of the sentence, being more and more confirmed in the opinion he always had of S. Columba's sanctity, by seeing him accompanied by an angel^(c) when he came to visit him, yet the good bishop considering the animosities that had ensued upon the battle of Cuiledreme among the different clans in Ireland, and apprehending some danger to S. Columba from King Dermot's resentment, he advised him to leave Ireland, and, without doubt moved by a particular inspiration of the Spirit of God, making use of his episcopal authority, he gave him mission to go over to Britain, in order to settle there, and to propagate the Gospel, particularly among the Northern Picts.

XXI. S. Columba, having thus received mission from this holy bishop, resolved to pass over to Britain, as soon as he had put order to his monasteries in Ireland, in each of which he placed for Superior one of his disciples to govern them under his direction during his absence, resolving to visit them himself, as he did in the voyages he made from time to time to Ireland. The arrival of S. Columba in Britain is placed by Bede^(d) A.D. 565 ;

^(a) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 3.

^(b) Usher, Ant. Brit. p. 469.

^(c) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 7.

^(d) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

but according to the surest calculation it happened A.D. 563, that is, the sixth year of the reign of Conal king of the Scots in Britain, two years after the battle of Cuiledreme, as Adamnan^(a) informs us. Now according to the Ulster Annals,^(b) this battle was fought A.D. 561. "S. Columba," according to^(c) Bede, "came into Britain to preach the word of God to the provinces of the Northern Picts, that is, to those that are separated from the southern parts by a ridge of steep and frightful hills; for the Southern Picts who dwelt on this side of these mountains had long before, as we have related, forsaken the errors of idolatry, and embraced the true Faith, by the preaching of Ninian, a most reverend bishop, and most holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of truth." S. Columba brought along with him twelve of his disciples, whose names we have in Boece, and more correctly in Ussher,^(d) and in the MS. copy of S. Columba's Life in Cotton Library, above mentioned.

The holy abbot upon his arrival into the territories of the Scots in Britain, addressed himself to King Conal, a most religious prince, who, according to our^(e) writers, had made several good laws in favour of religion, and he being well informed of the eminent piety and zeal of S. Columba, welcomed him with great respect, which was not little augmented by the first conversation he had with him just upon his arrival. For the holy man^(f) gave him, by the spirit of prophecy, as particular an account of the battle of Monamoir, at the very hour it was fought in Ireland, as if he had been present at it, telling him the names of the kings that were victorious, and of those that were beat, with the circumstances of their defeat. This conversation happened apparently in the island of Iona or Hy, called afterwards Ycolmkill, where it is not unlike that in those early times the kings of Scots made frequently their residence,^(g) being a pleasant and fertile little island, situated almost in the middle of their dominions, consisting then of the Western islands and north western parts of the mainland.

(a) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 7.

(b) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 363.

(c) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

(d) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 363.

(e) Boeth. fol. 166.

(f) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 7.

(g) Fuit (Iona ins.) locus sepulture et sedes regalis regum Scotiæ et Pictiniæ. Act. Bolland. tom. ii. Junii. p. 181. ex Scotichr. MS. Fordun, lib. v. c. 10.

A. D. 563.

XXII. S. Columba having informed the king of the religious motives of his coming to Britain, King Conal made to him a donation of the island of Iona or Hy, in order to erect a monastery in it for his residence and that of his disciples. We have elsewhere^(a) shown the mistake of Bede in ascribing this donation of Iona to the Picts, which, as Father Mabillon^(b) well observes, is contradicted by what Bede himself had elsewhere informed us of the situation of the Pictish and Scottish dominions in Britain, where he tells^(c) us that the Scots, at their first coming over to this island, settled upon the north-western coasts of it, near to which is the island Iona, in the heart of the Scottish dominions, all which lay betwixt Iona and the territories belonging to the Picts. Besides that, when S. Columba arrived, the Scots being Christians received him, as we have seen, with great respect, whereas the king of the Picts, Brudeus, was as yet an infidel, and the first time that S. Columba went to visit him, two years after this, he caused shut his gates^(d) against the Saint. But that Iona or Hy was the donation of Conal, king of the Scots, is farther confirmed by the Irish Annals^(e) of Tigernac and of Ulster. I saw a very ancient MS. copy of the Annals of Ulster, by the favour of the Duke of Chandos, in his grace's library at Canons near London. This copy is in Irish intermixed with Latin, in which language the death of Conal, King of Dalriada, that is, King of the Scots, and the donation of Iona or Hy, made by him to S. Columba, are expressed in the following very clear but very coarse terms, partly Irish, partly Latin, thus: "Bar Conal mac-Comgail rig Dalriada xiii^o anno regni sui, qui offeravit (sic) insulam Ia Colmeill;" that is, the death of Conal, son of Comgal king of Dalriada, who offered or made a donation of the island of Ia or Y to Colmkill, happened the thirteenth year of his reign. In fine, the relation that S. Adamnan gives of S. Columba's voyages^(f) to convert the Picts, demonstrates that his chief monastery was not situated in the Pictish but in the Scottish dominions. As to the Ulster Annals placing the death of King Conal in the thirteenth year of his reign, whereas, according to all the remains^(g) of our ancient chronicles, he reigned

^(a) Crit. Essay, pp. 88, 89.^(b) Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. i. p. 210.^(c) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1.^(d) Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 55. [Vit. secund. Columb. c. 36.]^(e) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 367.^(f) Crit. Essay, pp. 88, 89.^(g) Ibid. pp. 789, 797, 811, 824.

not barely ten or eleven years, as our modern writers have it, but fourteen years. This may be simply a fault of the copyist of those Annals. A. D. 563

We may farther observe here, that the first thing that S. Columba resolved upon, in order to carry on with success his apostolical functions of preaching the Gospel to the Northern Picts, was the erection of a monastery in their neighbourhood. S. Ninian,^(a) when he preached the Gospel to the Southern Picts, had begun by settling a monastery at Candida Casa, in Galloway; S. Patrick did the same^(b) in several provinces of Ireland; so also S. Augustine, Apostle of the Saxons,^(c) founded a monastery, how soon King Ethelbert granted him a place proper for it. The same method was followed by those that planted the Faith in the several countries of the north without the bounds of the Empire, and in Germany. Thus the famous monastery^(d) of Fulda was founded A.D. 744, by S. Boniface, Apostle of that nation. The intention of all these holy men in these pious institutions was not only to have a place of retirement amidst their labours, but chiefly to be a nursery of young labourers to carry on the work of the Gospel, and to be a bulwark to Christianity: or, as it is related of the foundation of new Corbey or Corvey^(e) in Saxony, the intention of these pious foundations was to defend and to perpetuate the Christian religion.

Accordingly the island of Iona, called afterwards Ycolmkill, that is, the convent or church of S. Columba in the island of Y or Hy, was erected by King Conal and S. Columba, in the same view and intention, to be a fortress of Christianity among the Scots, a nursery of apostolical labourers to propagate it among the Northern Picts, to form and furnish pastors of the first and second Order to both these people, and supply all their spiritual necessities, and particularly the want of diocesan Episcopacy and parochial churches, till Divine Providence should, by uniting into one body of state, and into one kingdom, the several different nations that possessed these northern territories, now called Scotland, furnish the means to establish in this kingdom the same canonical discipline that was in use, in all other parts abroad, of the Catholic Church.

XXIII. And because this once famous monastery of Ycolmkill was the

^(a) Supra, Book First, XXXIV.

^(b) Supra, Book First, XLV.

^(c) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 33.

^(d) Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. ii. p. 125.

^(e) Ibid. p. 470.... ad tutandam perennandamque religionem.

A. D. 563.

chief source of the doctrine and discipline of Christianity in these northern parts of Britain, and remained, from its first foundation till the eighth or ninth century, the centre, as it were, of all religious matters, it is of so much the more importance to give a full account of it, that the adversaries of Episcopacy, confounding what is essential to, and immutable in that sacred Order, with what, being only more convenient and usual, depends upon times, places, and other circumstances, endeavour to draw arguments against the necessity, authority, and divine institution of the episcopal Order, and against its superiority to that of priests, from some expressions dropt from Bede, and some few other ancient writers, copying after Bede, concerning the authority of the abbots of Ycolunkill, and the respect paid to them even by bishops, and some other usages of that monastery. For these reasons, it is of great importance, towards setting in a true light the state of the Church among the Scots and Picts in S. Columba's time, and during the following ages, down to the gradual division of the kingdom into dioceses and parishes, to enter into some detail, before we proceed farther, and give at some length an account of the design that Divine Providence appears to have had in the foundation of this famous monastery, of the discipline and order established and observed in it, and of the influence that it had into all ecclesiastical affairs in our northern parts of Britain. After having, in the first place, made a short review of what concerned Church government in these parts of the island in the times preceding the erection of this monastery.

It must then be considered, that though the light of the Gospel, as we have seen, had early begun to shine even in our northern parts of Britain which had never been subject to the Empire, and that in proportion as the Christian religion was planted among them, and as they persevered in the profession and exercise of it, they must have had pastors to entertain and keep it up by preaching the Word and the use of the Sacraments; nor could they be true pastors, according to all antiquity, without ordination received from a bishop, either of their own, or from those in their neighbourhood, yet the inhabitants of these northern parts, that lived without the limits of the Empire, being, as we have seen all along, a martial people, almost always upon expeditions, and engaged in wars offensive or defensive, it was not possible in the common course to establish, during some ages, among them that exterior ecclesiastical polity, to which, as hath been^(a)

^(a) Supra, Book First, XLIV.

observed, the form of the Roman government had paved the way, and made it easy to be settled among the inhabitants of the provinces that were, or had been formerly, included in the Empire, that is diocesan Episcopacy.

A. D. 563.

For the purpose, we have seen^(a) that there had been bishops long before S. Columba's time, in the country of the old *Mæates*, called by the Romans *Valentia*, and in the middle ages named *Cumbria*, lying to the south of the friths (which makes now a part of the kingdom of Scotland), such were, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, S. Ninian and his successors. For S. Ailred tells us,^(b) in S. Ninian's Life, that he consecrated bishops, no doubt, to succeed him, and carry on the work of the Conversion of the Southern Picts, and keep up the profession of the Christian religion among the *Mæates* or Britons betwixt the walls. Among these successors of S. Ninian may be reckoned the Bishop Nennio, mentioned^(c) before, who governed the Great Monastery in those parts, probably the same that S. Ninian had first established. And in this sixth century lived also S. Kentigern, who had many successors, as we are informed by the Inquest of the lands belonging to the Church of Glasgow, already mentioned. Among these successors of S. Kentigern, in the sixth century, is reckoned S. Baldred, Bishop, whose festival is marked in our old calendars on the sixth of March. And if all these bishops to the south of the friths have more the resemblance of diocesan bishops, as having fixed seats, S. Ninian, Nennio, &c, at Whithern or Candida Casa in Galloway, S. Kentigern, S. Baldred, and others, at Glasgow, the reason is patent, they were all within the bounds of *Valentia*, formerly a province of the Empire.

XXIV. It was not so with the Scots and Picts, inhabitants of these northern parts beyond the friths, who had never been subject to the Empire. For though we have seen, that, before the coming of S. Columba, there were bishops among the Scots, in all appearance^(d) from S. Patrick's time, and at least from the coming^(e) over of King Fergus, son of Erch, and the erection of the Scottish monarchy; yet when one considers the manners,

^(a) Supra, Book First, XXXI.

^(b) Supra, Book First, XXXIV.

^(c) Supra, Book Second, III.

^(d) Supra, Book Second, III.

^(e) Supra, Book First, XLIV.

A. D. 563.

temper, and circumstances of the Scots and Picts in those early times, such as they are described in the most ancient writers, it must be acknowledged that no other kind of bishops could have been at first settled among them, but such, as we have observed, were among the other warlike nations without the bounds of the Empire, that is, bishops of one whole people, nation, or kingdom, such as Ulphilas, Bishop of the Goths, Frumentius, Bishop of the Ethiopians, Britannion, Bishop of the Scythians, Moyses, Bishop of the Saracens, and others. Such, in all appearance, were the bishops of the Scots and Picts in the first times of their Christianity, one bishop for each kingdom, to direct and govern king and people in all religious matters, and to ordain priests and other ministers for instructing them, and administrating the Sacraments to them.

And as the jurisdiction of these ancient bishops of the Scots and Picts was not limited to any particular district or portion of those kingdoms, but extended as far as the authority and dominions of each of the kings reached, and accordingly limited; so in that sense these ancient bishops might have been called truly diocesan bishops, in so far as they had each of them a whole kingdom for their diocese, and that all the Christians within the bounds of it were subject to their jurisdiction. It was much in the same manner that the first bishops were established among the Saxons in England, during the Heptarchy, in proportion as their kings were converted or their subjects brought to the knowledge of the truth; each kingdom having generally but one bishop, as we see Aidan, and the Scots his successors, were in the beginning the only bishops of the Northumbrians. And Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the first that augmented the number of bishopricks in England, and distributed that country into parishes.

But as to the Scots and Picts, though we had no other proof but the example and usages of all other warlike nations without the bounds of the Empire who had embraced Christianity, that alone might suffice to satisfy impartial people, versed in the history and ancient discipline of the Church, that the Scots and Picts, professing the Christian religion, could not have preserved it, nor propagate it to posterity, without having each people at least one such a national bishop, as we find among all other Christians in like circumstances. But that this was truly the case of these two people in ancient times receives a new confirmation and additional proofs from all such remains as are left us of the ancient state of Church government in both these nations.

As to the Picts, all our writers^(a) agree generally that S. Terrenanus, or Ternanus, was their first bishop, and what is more authentic, he is recorded as first bishop of the Picts in the calendars of the ancient liturgy books of the Church of Scotland, particularly in the only copy remaining that I could hitherto meet with of the Missal of the Metropolitan Church of S. Andrews, carefully preserved with some other liturgical books in the ancient noble family of the Viscounts of Arbuthnot, which the present Viscount was pleased to allow me to peruse. In this Missal, S. Ternan is designed, both in the calendar and in the collect or prayer of the Liturgy of the day, "S. Terrenanus Archipræsul et Archiepiscopus Pictorum," and his festival was annually celebrated, with great solemnity, on the twelfth day of June. Boece, also, and Leslie, call him Archbishop of the Picts. As to his episcopal seat, and that of his successors, bishops of the nation of the Picts, the ancient Chronicle of Abernethy, quoted by the book of Paisley or Scotchchronicon, in the King's Library at London, informs us that the seat^(b) of the bishops of the Picts, as well as that of their kings, was at Abernethy in Stratherne, and the diocese of these bishops included all the Pictish kingdom.

A. D. 563.

As to the Scots, we have elsewhere^(c) observed, that according to Boece (who might have perused many ecclesiastical monuments before the Reformation, which are perished since by the zeal of the party that chiefly carried it on), there were bishops among the Scots in Britain, at least, from the time of Fergus, the son of Erch, and of the erection of the monarchy; and Boece gives us their names, whereof some are to be found in the ancient calendars of the Church of Scotland.

But a proof of the Scots having anciently had a national bishop, is the style or title of *Episcopus Scotorum*, that is, Bishop of the Scots in general, or Bishop of the nation of the Scots, given to their chief bishop; and it appears that this title of *Episcopus Scotorum*, had, by a long and immemorial custom, been so appropriated to the chief Bishop of the Scots, that even after the division of the kingdom into dioceses, this title of Bishop of the Scots (*Episcopus Scotorum*) continued to be used by their

^(a) Fordun, lib. iii. c. 9. Boeth. fol. 128, edit. Ferrer. Leslæi Hist. p. 137.

^(b) Fuit ille locus (Abernethy) principalis Regalis et Pontificalis per aliqua tempora totius regni Pictorum. Fordun, lib. iv. c. 12, sive Liber Paisley. in Biblioth. Reg. London. citat. Chron. de Abernethy, ibid.

^(c) Supra, Book Second, III.

A. D. 563.

chief bishops; to wit, the Bishops of St. Andrews, in their writs and charters.^(a) down to the twelfth century, and on their seals down^(b) to the thirteenth, as is manifest by the charters of Robert, Arnald, &c., and by the seals of the bishops of that see, down to Bishop William Fraser, who died A.D. 1297. All this is confirmed by this formal passage, set down by Sir James Dalrymple, from the excerpts of the ancient chartulary of S. Andrews, in these words:—"The^(c) Bishop of S. Andrews was called the Bishop of the Scots, and thus, both in ancient and in modern writs, the Bishops of S. Andrews are called Archbishops, or Chief Bishops of the Scots, whence Bishop Fothet caused engrave upon the cover or case of the Gospel, this inscription—Fothet, the chief bishop of the Scots, caused make this case for the Gospel. So also now, in the vulgar language, the Bishop of S. Andrews is called *Espic Allaban*, that is, Bishop of the Scots, and so they are now called by excellence among all other bishops of the Scots, who are styled from the places where they reside."

As to the seat of the national bishop of the Scots in ancient times, and before the union of the two kingdoms, there is all appearance that it was either in Ycolmkill, which in these first times was the centre of all their religious matters, as we shall see, or in the place where their kings made their ordinary residence.

What is chiefly to be observed in these citations, is, that these national bishops of the Picts and Scots were anciently designed, the one *Archiepiscopus* and *Archipræsul Pictorum*, the other *Primus* or *Summus Episcopus* et *Archiepiscopus Scotorum*: not to insist upon a writ that Sir James Balfour^(d) informs us he had seen of Bishop Kellach to the Keledees of Lochlevin, in which Kellach styles himself *Maximus Scotorum Episcopus*.

^(a) Chartular, vetus S. Andrewæ penes Comitum de Panmure, fol. 54. Robertus Dei gratia Episcopus Scotorum, &c. Ibid. fol. 55. Ernaldus Dei gratia Scotorum Episcopus, &c.

^(b) Diplomata Scot. Sigilla Robert. Ernald. Ricard. Roger. Will. et Will. Fraser, Epp. Scotorum.

^(c) Episcopus Sanct. And. dictus est Episcopus Scotorum: Et sic in scriptis tam vetustis quam modernis inveniuntur dicti summi Archiepiscopi, sive summi Episcopi Scotorum; unde et conscribi fecit in theca Evangelii Fothet Episcopus,

Hanc Evangelii thecam construxit auit,

Fothet qui Scotis summus Episcopus est.

Sic et nunc quoque in vulgari et communi locutione Episcopus Alban. (f. *Espic Allaban*) i.e. Episcopi Albanie appellantur. Sic et dicti sunt et dicuntur per excellentiam ab universis Scotorum Episcopis qui a locis quibus præsumt appellantur. Dalrymple, Coll. p. 127.

^(d) Dalrymple, Coll. p. 129.

Now these titles of *Archiepiscopus* or *Summus Episcopus* given to the two national Bishops of the Picts and Scots, clearly insinuate that, besides these two bishops who had the chief direction of all ecclesiastical matters in the two kingdoms, there were other bishops under them, who, though perhaps not ordained to any title, fixed locality, seat or district, had the episcopal Character conferred to them under the chief bishop of each nation, either in order to honour the sanctity of their lives and their distinguished merits, or to be suffragans or coadjutors to the two chief bishops, (as Fordun^(a) tells us that S. Servanus was consecrated bishop by S. Palladius for the same end), that is, to perform the episcopal functions for them in distant places of the country, for the greater conveniency of the people, who could not easily, on many occasions, have recourse or access to the chief bishop of the nation.

A. D. 568.

The great extent of these two national bishops' jurisdiction, including each a whole kingdom, the frequent wars and expeditions that made their access difficult and dangerous in many occasions, and to many places, the spiritual wants and necessities of the people forced them apparently to fall upon this expedient, and the ignorance of the canons, which could not fail to be very general in these ancient times among the Scots and the Picts, and other islanders remote from the more polished countries, where canonical discipline was in vigour, made them less scrupulous and more excusable. For as Joceline^(b) observes in the Life of S. Kentigern (where he excuses this Saint's being consecrated by one single bishop), "the islanders living, as it were, in another world, and being frequently infested by infidels, their ignorance of the canons deserves to be excused." This ignorance gave occasion to their transgressing often the canons in rites and other matters of discipline that were not essential. Among other transgressions of the canons may be reckoned that of ordaining bishops by one single bishop, because in these tumultuous times other bishops could not be had, as also the custom of ordaining them at large, and without a proper title and limited district.

XXV. And these unusual practices of the Scots and Picts were so much the more excusable, that besides that the almost perpetual motion they were in by their intestine wars, one against another, and their foreign expeditions, hindered, as we have often observed, the canonical division of

^(a) Fordun, lib. 3. c. 9.^(b) Vit. S. Kent. per Jocelin. Supra, Book Second, VII.

A. D. 563. these kingdoms into fixed dioceses; they had also before them the like practices in Ireland, from whence they had originally received both the doctrines and discipline of Christianity. This practice of ordaining bishops at large, in Ireland, without fixed seats, and by one single bishop, which had probably begun out of motives of piety, necessity, or conveniency, continued down among them till the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth age, as we see by the letters of S. Anselm,^(a) Archbishop of Canterbury, complaining of it.

As to the Scots and Picts, this irregular practice of ordaining bishops at large, and without a proper district, to be suffragans and coadjutors of the national bishops, had been, most probably, introduced at first among them, as we have observed, partly in order to administrate the Sacraments, annexed to the episcopal Character, and perform the other episcopal functions in places where the two chief bishops of these nations could not have easy access; partly in order to do honour to religious men of an eminent and distinguished piety, zeal, and sanctity of life, as we find the like was done sometimes^(b) in the purest ages, and in countries where the canonical discipline was most in vigour. Thus Sozomen informs us that in or about the famous city of Edessa, Barsees, Eulogius, and other religious men, were consecrated bishops in the fourth age, not in order to govern any diocese, says Sozomen, but out of honour and respect, and as a recompense of the purity and sanctity with which they had lived in their monasteries. And what makes it the more likely that this was the case of some of our bishops at large among the Scots and Picts, to wit, that the sanctity of their lives was the chief motive of ordaining many of these bishops is that, by all accounts that we have remaining of these ancient bishops ordained at large in our country, they were all persons of so eminent piety that they were afterwards honoured as Saints, and their festivals annually celebrated on the days they are marked in all our ecclesiastical calendars and liturgical books that have escaped the zeal of the Knoxian Reformers, and of those that succeeded him of the same spirit, and it is from these remains^(c) that we have chiefly account of these bishops.

^(a) Anselm lib. iiii. epistola, 147. Ussher, Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge, p. 96. Dicitur Episcopos in vestra terra passim eligi, et sine certo Episcopatus loco constitui; atque ab uno Episcopo, Episcopum sicut quemlibet Presbyterum, ordinari, &c. Ad Reg. Murhard.

^(b) Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 34.

^(c) Kalendar. et Missal. MS. Ecclesię de Arbuthnot dioc. S. Andrew penes Vicecomitem de Arbuthnot. Kalendar. et Breviar. Aberdon. 1509.

Such were S. Nachlan or Nathalan, Bishop, January the eighth, at Tullich, in Mar; S. Wollock or Macwolock, Bishop, January the twenty-ninth, at Logy, in Mar; S. Glascian, Bishop, January the thirtieth, at Kinglass, &c.; S. Modock, Bishop, January the thirty-first, at Kilmock; S. Marnan, Bishop, March the first; S. Duthac, Bishop, March the eighth, famous in Ross; S. Ronan, Bishop, May the twenty-second, at Kilmaronan, in Lennox; S. Colmock, Bishop, June the sixth; S. Molock or Molonach, Bishop, June the twenty-fifth, at Lismore, in Argyle; July the first, S. Servan or Serf, Bishop, of whom elsewhere; August the tenth, S. Blane, Bishop, at Dunblane; August the twenty-fourth, S. Yrhard, Bishop, at Kincardine-O'Neil; September the first, S. Murdach, Bishop; September the twenty-second, S. Lolan, Bishop; September the twenty-fifth, S. Bar or Finbar, Bishop, at Kilbarr, in the Isle of Barra, and in Caithness; September the twenty-eighth, S. Machan, Bishop; October the sixteenth, S. Colman, Bishop; October the twenty-eighth, S. Marnoch, Bishop; October the thirtieth, S. Talarican or Tarkin, Bishop; November the thirteenth, S. Devenick, Bishop, at Banchory-Devenick; November the eighteenth, S. Fergusian or Fergus, Bishop; December the second, S. Ethernan, Bishop; December the eighteenth, S. Manir, Bishop; December the twenty-second, S. Ethernase, Bishop; &c.

A. D. 563.

All these holy bishops' names are taken from the calendars or liturgical books of St. Andrews and of Aberdeen, these being the only two I can hear of, which escaped our Reformers' zeal; but I doubt not but, if the calendars of the Churches of Glasgow, of Galloway, of Argyle, of Dunkeld, and especially of the Isles, could be recovered, we should there find many more of the names of the ancient bishops of the Scots and Picts. Among these bishops, some, no doubt, were the chief or national bishops of the Scots and Picts. But the loss of the ancient monuments of our ecclesiastical history hinders us from being able to distinguish which among them were the national or ordinary bishops, and which were bishops at large and coadjutors or suffragans, and renders it impossible to fix their chronology. As to the dates assigned to each of them in Adam King's^(a) Scottish Calendar, published A.D. 1587, as he brings no authority to prove these dates, and some of them are certainly wrong, we can in no manner depend upon them. The names of some of our ancient bishops are still preserved at the

^(a) Adam Regius or King, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at Paris, his Calendar, printed at Paris, A.D. 1587.

A. D. 563. — respective country churches, or other places where they were honoured. It was probably at these places where these holy bishops made their ordinary abode with their disciples, and to which they used to retire amidst their labours, where they finished their course and were buried, and where their relics were, in former ages, held in great veneration, and the great resort made to them by the faithful, as places of devotion, especially on their anniversary days, or festivals, was what gave the first rise and occasion to yearly fairs and markets kept on their anniversaries, whereof some are as yet to be seen marked in the old Scottish almanacs, notwithstanding the zeal of our new Reformers to abolish the memory of these ancient Saints of their country.

After this prospect of the ecclesiastical government in Scotland in ancient times, which appears to have continued much on the same footing as long as the civil government was divided into different states and kingdoms, before the union of the Scots and Picts, and that of all the provinces of the north and south into one monarchy, I come now in course to give account of the famous monastery of Ycolmkill, and of the discipline settled in it, of which Divine Providence made use as a means to preserve and propagate religion in our part of the island, to establish it upon a more firm foundation than ever it had been hitherto, and not only to furnish these parts with pastors of the first and second Order, but to form Apostolical men towards the Conversion of all the northern parts of England. Now we shall see that the monastery of Ycolmkill was that means, and that it was fitted by Providence to answer all those ends, after having first considered the situation of it, and the discipline established and observed in it.

XXVI. The island of Hy or Iona is situated at the south-western point of the isle of Mull, and about two miles distant from it. It would appear that the distance betwixt these two islands was not so great in S. Columba's time, since we find that passengers used to call ^(a) over the frith from Mull to Ycolmkill. This island is now about two miles in length and one in breadth; it is fertile of all things which that part of the climate produces. It is as free of all venomous beasts, by S. Columba's benediction, so as they could ^(b) do hurt to nobody. We have already shown that it was the donation, not of the Picts, but of Conal, King of the Scots. S. Co-

^(a) Adamnan. lib. i. cc. 25, 27.

^(b) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 28.

lumba began by erecting in it a church, no doubt of wood, for such was the custom of the Scots during these times, and the monastery or habitations he caused build for himself, for his disciples and for the multitude of those that frequented the holy place, were of a very mean fabric, that is cottages, such as were in use among the country people, if we may judge of the rest by S. Columba's own habitation which Adamnan calls more than once "tuguriolum,"^(a) a little cottage. And no wonder that their buildings were so mean, for they were all of their own fabric; labouring with their hands, as we shall see, and providing for themselves the necessaries of life, without being a burthen to others, was a part of the exercises of S. Columba and his first disciples.

A. D. 563.

As to the discipline of this monastery, it is certain that S. Columba was author of a monastic rule peculiar to his monasteries, and Warræus^(b) informs us that this rule is still extant, but, by what I can learn, it hath not been as yet published. To supply the want of it we may learn in general what were the exercises of S. Columba and his disciples, from a passage in S. Adamnan, in which he gives us a short notion of the ordinary religious exercises of S. Columba himself, and, by consequence, of what he prescribed to his disciples, and to those that were to succeed them in the monasteries governed by his rule. For as Bede observes,^(c) it was the chief maxim of these holy men, that "they taught no otherwise than they themselves and their followers lived and practised," that is, their lives and conduct were models and patterns of the pious exercises that they recommended to the practice of those whom they instructed. So that we cannot have a more certain account, in few words, of the exercises of the religious men in Yoolmkill, especially of those among them whom S. Columba destined to the sacred ministry, than what S. Adamnan gives us of this holy man's own daily exercises in this monastery, to wit, that he spent all the hours of the day either in^(d) prayer, that is, in his private conversation with God, in which he spent often whole nights, as well as days, and in reciting the canonical Office of the day and night, in reading or studying, in writing or

^(a) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 25; lib. ii. c. 26; lib. iii. c. 15.

^(b) Ware, de Scriptor. Hibern. p. 15.

^(c) Cujus (Aidani) doctrinam id maxime commendabat omnibus, quod non aliter quam vivebat cum suis, ipse docebat. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 5.

^(d) Nullum unius hore intervallum transire poterat, quo non aut orationi, aut lectioni, vel scriptiōni, vel etiam alieni operationi inculberet. Adamnan. Pref. secund. in Vit. S. Columbæ, edit. Colgan, p. 337. [Vit. secund. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 1.]

A. D. 563. copying books, and in corporal labour. And as for the farther particulars of these exercises, and of the usages of the monastery, we may gather them from S. Adamnan's account of the life of S. Columba, from what Bede relates of the lives, usages, and exercises of S. Aidan, and the other holy men bred up in this monastery, who planted the Gospel in the north of England, and settled among the Christians they converted, and in the monasteries that they founded in those parts, the usages that they had brought along with them from Ycolmkill.

XXVII. And in the first place, it is to be observed that, as all S. Columba's disciples bore the name of monks, in the language of these times, so the houses where they lived were named monasteries, and the discipline established among them resembled that of monks. They had a fixed rule, they had all in common, according to the form of living of the first Christians in apostolical times. Wherefore, and according to that evangelical model, as Bede^(a) relates, "they neither sought nor loved anything in this world;" it appears also that they made vows^(b) of renouncing to all property, of forsaking the world with all its concerns, and of consecrating themselves wholly to the exercises of religion. It were superfluous to add that they lived in perpetual continency, for everybody knows that all those of the monastic profession, and who renounced the world, renounced at same time to the married state. They all lived under the obedience of an Abbot, or other Superior, to be disposed of by him, either to remain all their lives in the low state of simple religious men, or to be advanced to the respective degrees of sacred Orders, according to the judgment that their Superior, after a long trial, made, in the first place, of their progress in piety and sanctity of life, as well as of their talents and other qualifications for the service of the Church.

So that, however they were called monks, according to the language of these times, yet, excepting those among them that, being illiterate, were chiefly deputed to corporal labour, and those who were admitted as public penitents (who, by consequence, were excluded by the canons of the Church from the entry to holy Orders), the rest of them, in general, were, properly speaking, a body of regular clergy, such as those bred up in the monasteries or seminaries of S. Eusebius, of Vercelli, S. Martin, of Tours, S. Augustine, in Africa, S. Honoratus, of Lerins, &c., of whose disciples, those

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cc. 5, 26.

^(b) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 32; lib. ii. c. 39.

chosen out by these holy men, directed by the Spirit of God, were advanced to holy Orders in the clerical state, and employed in the service of the Church, and it was from these religious houses that many of the greatest bishops of the ages, in which the discipline settled by the founders flourished in them, were taken ; and it was also from the same monasteries or seminaries in foreign parts that S. Patrick brought over to Ireland the first patterns of religious and clerical education and institution, and from Ireland S. Columba introduced them into Britain, and settled a most complete model of them in Ycolmkill, whence they spread through all the northern parts of Britain.

A. D. 563.

But it suffices to consider the practice of S. Columba himself, and the exercises established by him in Ycolmkill and his other monasteries, to be persuaded that the design of Divine Providence in the establishment of that famous monastery was not so much to form monks, in a strict sense, or solitaries, such as those of the Orient, whose only aim was their own sanctification, without taking further share in the hierarchical functions than, by their prayers, to draw a blessing upon those that were employed in them. But that the monastery of Ycolmkill was established in the same view as those above-mentioned of S. Eusebius, S. Martin, S. Augustine, S. Honoratus, &c., that is to breed up their disciples in solid piety, which chiefly consists in the right regulation of the heart, and, in the first place, in the separation of their affections from the world, and in the renunciation to its cares and affairs, to all unnecessary eases and pleasures of life. And as for the ecclesiastical state, those wise directors, animated by and regulating their instructions upon the maxims of Holy Scripture and canons concerning the necessity of divine vocation to that state of perfection, at the same time that they endeavoured to inspire those of their disciples whom they found proper for that holy state, with an ardent zeal for the salvation of souls, and a promptitude to sacrifice themselves to that great work which our Lord himself had begun, and his Apostles and their successors had continued, these prudent directors, I say, took care to excite in their disciples, at same time, a high esteem and profound veneration for the different degrees of the sacred ministry, and holy dread and apprehension of the burden of the charge of souls, so as that they were disposed not only not to aspire or aim at it of themselves, but rather to decline the weight of it, and to submit to it only in as far as the spiritual wants of souls redeemed by the blood of Christ, and the order of God, manifested to them

A. D. 563. by the voice of their Superiors, directors, or other holy men of these times, forced them to submit, out of an apprehension to disobey Almighty God in the person of his servants.

Of all these preparations and dispositions, we shall see afterwards a perfect pattern in our countryman, the great S. Cuthbert, bred from his youth in the Columbite monastery of Mailross, as Bede relates at length in his History, and in the Life of this Saint. But to return to the discipline of S. Columba's monasteries.

XXVIII. At the same time that his disciples were bred up in these inward dispositions to piety, they were instructed in all that might qualify them for the pastoral functions, in case the spiritual necessities of the Church called for their help, and their chief exercises in the monastery were calculated to that end.

We have already given from Adamnan a general view of these exercises in the practice of S. Columba himself, who taught them more by his own example to his disciples than by his words or regulations. These exercises, as we have seen, were reduced to these four heads, "orationi," prayer; "lectioni," lecture or studying; "scriptioni," writing or copying; "operationi," working, or the labour of their hands.

As to prayer, besides the continual prayer or tendency of the heart to God, in which S. Columba himself lived, and trained up his disciples in the same pious disposition, there were regular times of public prayer at the canonical hours of the day and of the^(a) night, to which they all convened at the sound of a bell, for so I understand the barbarous word "clocca,"^(b) which Adamnan makes use of. They sung^(c) the public Office, and were exact to perform it at the stated hours, as well abroad in their voyages and upon their missions, as at home in the monastery. Adamnan, upon that occasion, makes mention^(d) of the miraculous elevation of S. Columba's voice, during the sacred Psalmody.

But the principal part of their public prayer, or of divine Service, was the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Eucharist, or the solemnity of Mass; and the terms of respect in which S. Adamnan expresses the holy mysteries being the same that the Catholic Church makes use of at present,

(a) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 23, n. 9, edit. Colg.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid. lib. i. c. 37; lib. iii. c. 12.

(d) Ibid.

A. D. 563.

demonstrates that the faith that S. Columba settled in his monasteries, and among the ancient Scots and Picts, concerning the real presence of the Body of Christ, or the oblation or sacrifice of the Mass, was in those days the same as it is now. For he calls them, the sacred Mysteries^(a) of the Eucharist, the most holy^(b) Mysteries, the Solemnity^(c) of Mass, the sacred Solemnity^(d) of Mass; and to show that they believed that the holy Eucharist was offered as a sacrifice or oblation, he calls Mass the Mystical^(e) Sacrifice, the Mysteries^(f) of the sacred Oblation. And that they believed that the Body of Christ was rendered present in the sacred mysteries by the words or prayer of the consecration appears, by Adamnan's informing us, not only that the bishop or priest at Mass consecrated^(g) the holy mysteries of the Eucharist, that they consecrated^(h) the sacred oblation, but that by the consecration of the oblation at the altar, the bishop's or priest's pronouncing in the name of Christ the words or prayer of consecration, and acting by his authority, derived to them in an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles by the channel of ordination, made or produced the Body of Christ, "Christi Corpus⁽ⁱ⁾ ex more conficere;" alluding to an expression of S. Hierome, by which to express the eminence of the Character of priests above that of deacons, S. Hierome says, that by the prayer^(k) of the priests the Body and Blood of Christ are made or produced, and elsewhere, the priests with their sacred mouths make or produce^(l) the Body of Christ. And it is in these same terms that S. Adamnan explains the meaning of another expression of his own imitated from the Scripture, to wit, to break^(m) the Lord's bread.

By all this the impartial reader, I hope, will perceive that the doctrine taught by S. Columba, and by his disciples and successors, concerning the

(a) *Sacræ Eucharistiæ Mysteria.* Adamnan. lib. i. c. 40; lib. iii. c. 17.

(b) *Sacro Sancta Mysteria.* Ibid.

(c) *Missarum Solemnia,* lib. i. c. 40; lib. iii. c. 17; lib. iii. c. 23, n. 1.

(d) *Sacra Missarum Solemnia,* lib. ii. c. 45.

(e) Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 1. *Sacrificale Mysterium.*

(f) *Sacræ Oblationis Mysteria.* lib. i. c. 40.

(g) *Sacræ Eucharistiæ Mysteria consecrare.*

(h) *Globus igneus in vertice S. Columbæ ante altare stantis et sacram oblationem consecrantis.* Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 17.

(i) *Christi corpus ex more conficere.* lib. i. c. 44.

(k) *Ad quorum (sacerdotum) preces, Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur.* S. Hieronym. Epist. ad Evagrium.

(l) *Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt.* S. Hieronym. Epist. ad Heliodorum.

(m) *Dominicum panem frangere.* Adamnan. lib. i. c. 44.

A. D. 563.

sacred mysteries of the Eucharist, was the same in substance with that of the Catholic Church in this present and in all former ages. But as to the rite, or discipline observed in the celebration of the holy mysteries, it appears that the usages of the Picts and Scots in ancient times were, as it was usual in other countries, different in some things from the modern usages of the occidental Church. And first, in this, that, as it appears by the several expressions of Adamnan (here^(a) marked) compared together, the holy sacrifice of Mass was not offered ordinarily but upon Sundays or festivals, or upon the news of the death, or on occasion of the anniversary, of some pious men related to the monastery. Secondly, that there is great ground to believe that the Scots in ancient times, in the celebration of the sacred mysteries, followed the Gallican rite or liturgy, introduced at first into Ireland by S. Patrick, educated in Gaul, and from Ireland brought over by S. Columba to our northern parts of Britain. But this, and the other varieties of rites observed in Scotland in the celebration of the sacred mysteries or Mass, and in the canonical offices (vulgarly called the Breviary) through the different ages, from the first establishment of Christianity till the new Reformation, may perhaps come to be elsewhere examined in a dissertation apart upon the ancient Liturgy of Scotland.

XXIX. The second exercise of S. Columba and his disciples in their monasteries was lecture, "lectioni," reading or study, especially of what belonged to the doctrine and practice of religion, and, in the first place, of the Holy Scriptures: for thus S. Columba had been from his childhood taught in the monastery or seminary of the holy Bishop S. Finian or Findbar, where all his studies are comprehended by Adamnan^(b) under the name of the wisdom or knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, "*sapientiam sacræ Scripturæ*," that is, not the bare lecture or study of the letter of the Scriptures, but the meditation of the truths contained in them, to sink them into the heart, in order to produce that divine wisdom which teaches to fix the heart in God, and to withdraw all its affections from the transitory satisfactions of the present life. And, doubtless, S. Columba inspired the same spirit into his disciples, to make, with S. Augustine,^(c) the sacred Scriptures their greatest pleasure and consolation. For we find that the

^(a) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 40; lib. ii. cc. 1, 45; lib. iii. cc. 12, 17, 23, n. 1.

^(b) Cum vir venerandus (Columba) in Scotia apud Findbarum Episcopum adhuc juvenis, sapientiam sacræ Scripturæ addisces, commaneret. Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 1.

^(c) Sint castæ deliciæ mee Scripturæ tuæ. S. Aug. Confession.

assiduous lecture and meditation of them was one of the chief practices ^(a) of the Columbites both in Scotland and England.

A. D. 563.

But to reap the fruit of these pious lectures, the young and unlearned among them were not abandoned to themselves to search out the meaning or sense of the Scriptures without a guide, but they were taught the true meaning of them by their ancients, who were instructed in the sense and meaning of the Church; and we see in the example of S. Cuthbert, and in the method he was taught to understand the Holy Scriptures by his master, Boisil, Superior of the Columbite monastery of Mailross, that their custom in their conferences upon the Holy Scripture with their disciples, was ^(b) not to dive into the profound questions of the sacred text, but to render them attentive to, and cause them remark what was of greatest edification, to wit, the simplicity of faith that works by charity. But this exercise was chiefly for those that were already advanced and lettered, as for those that were as yet young in years, such as the twelve Saxon ^(c) children chosen out by S. Aidan, to be bred up to the ecclesiastical state in his monasteries, according to S. Columba's rule, and in general as to all illiterate persons that were received in the Columbite monasteries, the first application of their masters was to teach those of them, in whom they found capacity and inclination to letters, to read and write, joining those exercises to the necessary instructions of Christian doctrine and rules of piety.

To these first elements, in proportion to their progress in piety, and the hopes they gave of being one day useful instruments of the salvation of others, and of their being called to the clerical state, was added the applying them to learn the Latin tongue, this being the common language in religious matters of the occidental Church, of which they were members, to enable them to understand the Holy Scriptures, the canons of the councils, or such writings of the Fathers, or other ancients, as they could procure, to qualify them by those solid lectures and studies (to which the theology of those times was chiefly reduced) for the different degrees of the sacred ministry to which they might happen afterwards to be called

^(a) Ut omnes qui cum eo (Aidano) incedeabant, sive attonsi sive laici, meditari deberent, id est, aut legendis Scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis operam dare. Hoc erat quotidianum opus illius, et omnium qui cum eo erant fratrum, ubicunque locorum devenissent. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 5.

^(b) (Boisil in Collationibus de Sacra Scriptura cum Cuthberto) solam in ea fidei quæ per dilectionem operatur simplicitatem, non autem questionum profunda tractabat. Bed. Vit. S. Cuthbert. c. viii.

^(c) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 26.

A. D. 563. and promoted. It is remarkable that the application of their young scholars to lecture and study was so great and perseverant, that they carried^(a) books (which in those days were no small burthen) along with them in their voyages.

XXX. Their third exercise was writing or copying books, "scriptioni." This we find was, according to Adamnan, one of the ordinary^(b) exercises of S. Columba himself, and of his chief disciples. The great number of them that were applied to reading or studying, and the rarity of books in those days, put S. Columba under the necessity of employing many of his disciples in transcribing books, in order to form a library in his monasteries, for the spiritual comfort and improvement chiefly of those that were destined to the public canonical office, and to the service of the Church and sacred Orders. So that the transcribing the Holy Scriptures, what they could recover of the canons, of the books of the holy Fathers, and of other ancient ecclesiastical writers, and of other books necessary for Divine Service, and for the use of the learned and improvement of students, was one of the chief exercises of all those that were skilful and expert in the art of writing, to which all that were capable in the monasteries were bred up. And we see, by what Adamnan remarks,^(c) that they were so careful of revising their copies, and rendering them correct, that there was not so much as an iota neglected. He gives^(d) us also account of Psalters and other books transcribed by S. Columba himself, and therefore held in great veneration, and miracles wrought by them.

The fourth exercise of S. Columba's disciples, according to the example he had given them, was corporal or manual labour, "operationi." This exercise, strictly enjoined by all the founders of religious congregations, was also recommended by the canons^(e) of the Church in particular to the clergy. And none among the Columbites were exempted from labour of the hands, though the chief burden of it lay upon those that were illiterate, or not employed in studies, or destined to the service of the Church. Thus we see it was these religious men themselves that erected^(f) their buildings, that brought home^(g) the materials of them, that tilled the ground,

^(a) Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 8.

^(b) Ibid. lib. i. cc. 23, 25; lib. ii. cc. 8, 9, 16; lib. iii. c. 23, n. 7.

^(c) Ibid. lib. i. c. 22.

^(d) Ibid. lib. ii. cc. 8, 9, 16, 44, 45; lib. iii. c. 23, n. 7.

^(e) Concil. iv. Carthagin. can. 51.

^(f) Adamnan. lib. i. cc. 23, 37; lib. iii. c. 15.

^(g) Ibid. lib. ii. cc. 3, 45.

cut^(a) the corn, went a fishing for the monastery, in a word, that provided for themselves, and for entertaining hospitably, all the necessaries of life, as much as they were able without being a burden to others.

A. D. 563.

Now all these exercises of the pious inhabitants of S. Columba's monasteries were accompanied with their regular fasting, not only in Lent upon one meal a day, and that only^(b) in the evening, and after vespers or evening song, about five or six o'clock at night, at sunset, according to the universal practice of the Church in those ages, but during the course of all the year (excepting the fifty days from Easter to Whitsunday) the Columbites fasted all Wednesdays^(c) and Fridays upon one meal a day, with this difference from the great fast of Lent, that upon their weekly fasts they advanced their sole meal till three in the afternoon ("hora nona"), whereas in Lent they ate none till night. Adamnan also observes that their charity and love of entertaining hospitably engaged them to interrupt or relax their fast, upon the arrival of any extraordinary stranger of great merit that came to visit them. But some of the more fervent among them observed three^(d) Lents, one at the usual time before Easter, one after Whitsunday, and one before Christmas. It was also the custom of some of the more advanced in piety to pass all the time^(e) of Lent in retreat, or entire separation from company.

But it is to be observed, that however strict and austere the discipline of Lent was among the Columbites as to fasting, they allowed a greater indulgence as to abstinence, even in Lent, than in modern ages. For though they all abstained absolutely from flesh on fasting days, yet it appears that they allowed^(f) the use of milk and white meats, and even of eggs. And probably this indulgence extended to all the Scots in those days. However, it is certain that the Scots, in following ages, embraced the common discipline of the rest of the Church, and abstained during Lent, from white meats, milk, eggs, and all that comes of flesh, till the fifteenth century, that Pope Nicholas the Fifth, by a special indult,^(g) A.D. 1451, granted first to the diocesans of Glasgow a licence to use milk

^(a) Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 19; lib. i. c. 37.

^(b) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 23.

^(c) Ibid. lib. iii. c. 5.

^(d) Ibid. lib. iii. c. 27.

^(e) Ibid. lib. v. c. 2.

^(f) Ibid. lib. iii. c. 23.

^(g) Chartular. Glasg.

A. D. 563. and white meats in Lent, and A.D. 1459, the same Pope granted^(a) the same licence for the diocesans of St. Andrews, to James Kennedy, Bishop of that Church, present in person at Rome, and from thenceforth this indulgence was, by degrees, extended to the rest of Scotland; the reason assigned for the licence, to wit, the want of oil, being common to all the kingdom. But in neither of these indults is any word of allowing eggs in Lent. And thus far as to the discipline of Ycolmkill, and other monasteries of S. Columba.

XXXI. It remains now to show that the monastery of Ycolmkill was, for some ages after its establishment, the chief centre and support of Christianity among the Scots and Picts; that this abbey, with the other monasteries derived from it, as so many colonies, and founded by S. Columba in different places of the kingdom of the Scots and Picts, were the nurseries of churchmen of all orders and degrees, as well as of simple religious men. That these monasteries, by the bishops and priests formed and consecrated in them and sent out from them, supplied the want and answered the ends of diocesan episcopacy and parochial churches during the several ages after the foundation of Ycolmkill, whilst the separate interests of the Scots and Picts, the frequent wars betwixt them and with the neighbouring nations, their mutual incursions one upon another, and the other confusions of the civil state, hindered the canonical division of this northern country into dioceses and parishes, which could not be conveniently effected, nor established upon a lasting foundation, till the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts, with the debatable lands, from the northern friths to the Tweed and Solway, were at last all united into one monarchy of Scotland; till the debates about the right of succession were fully settled, by the re-establishment of the primitive rule of the succession of the next immediate heir of the royal line, and till, by those means, the kingdom was brought to perfect union and tranquillity, that rendered it susceptible of the same canonical discipline and ecclesiastical polity which had been established in other parts of Christendom.

That the monastery of Ycolmkill was, in the order of Divine Providence, the centre, and, as it were, the fortress of Christianity among the Scots and Picts, appears by the prerogatives which, as Bede^(b) tells us over and

^(a) Chartular. Dunferm. Exemplar Paenmurian. p. 307.

^(b)Hy insula, ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scoti habuere canobiorum. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 21. Hy monasterium in cunctis pene Sotorum septentrionalium,

over again, belonged to it, such as that it still continued in Bede's time the head and bulwark of religion among the Scots and Picts, the source from which all the monasteries, founded among these two people, were derived and propagated, and of the authority by which they were governed, and by consequence, the centre and chief seat of religion in these two kingdoms. Adamnan also tells us of the great number of monasteries founded by S. Columba, or his disciples, within the bounds of the Scots and Picts, and proves how beneficial these pious establishments were to these two people, and how acceptable^(a) they were to Almighty God, by the visible and distinguishing marks of his protection over them, especially in the time of the general pestilence, by preserving from that plague the Scots and Picts alone among all the inhabitants of Britain, or rather of the rest of the Occident, and that, says Adamnan, by the prayers of S. Columba, and upon account of the honour paid by the Scots and Picts to his memory, and to his monasteries founded within the bounds of these two people: as we shall see at more length in its proper place.

These monasteries, especially that of Ycolmkill, were the nurseries in which, under the direction of the Abbot, or other Superior, and of chosen masters, were bred up to piety and letters, children (such as the twelve Saxon children of S. Aidan) and other young people, to which also retired men of riper years, all of them with a resolution to renounce absolutely to the world, to all its cares and affairs, and to devote themselves wholly to the service of God in a religious state, to live according to the rule and discipline of the monastery where they entered, and in an exact obedience to the Abbot, or other Superior, to be wholly disposed of afterwards by him, according as he, by the knowledge he had of their dispositions and talents, after having consulted the will of God, should advise them either to remain in the lay state of simple religious, or to enter that of the clergy.

XXXII. These monasteries were then not only retreats for monks and solitaries, but seminaries of the clergy, as we have already observed, from whence, as from storerooms, according to the exigencies of the Church, the most qualified subjects for piety and learning were chosen out by the abbot, with advice of the ancients, to be promoted to sacred Orders, and to

et omnium Pictorum monasteriis, non parvo tempore arcem tenebat; regendis eorum populis praeerat. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 3. Ex utroque monasterio (Hy et Dearmach) plurima monasteria per discipulos ejus (Columbae) et in Britannia et in Hibernia propagata sunt. In quibus idem monasterium insularum (Hy) principatum tenet. Ibid. lib. iii. c. 4.

^(a) Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 46.

A. D. 563. the dignity of priesthood or episcopate, and sent out to the several cantons, where their ministry was wanted. And as all this was done according to the direction of the Abbot of Ycolmkill, or other Superiors of monasteries depending upon him, to whom, at their admission into the monasteries, they had promised obedience, this gave naturally to the Abbot of Ycolmkill, as head of all the other Scottish and Pictish monasteries, an ascendant and a kind of superiority over all the churchmen of these parts, of whatever degree, and to whatever post they were afterwards promoted. So it was no wonder that all of them, from the lowest to the highest degree, having been educated and ordained at these monasteries, and sent out to labour from some one or other of them, and having been accustomed from their entry to the monastery to an entire subjection and dependence upon the Abbot of Ycolmkill, as Superior-in-chief of them all; this being the case, it is no wonder, I say, that all of them, even the bishops who had been bred up there, should continue to pay such a deference to the Abbot, as to do nothing of moment without his advice or direction, and therefore to have recourse to him and consult him in all important cases and causes, and that this custom long continued should have appeared to Bede, a stranger, and living at a distance, a kind of right or jurisdiction of the Abbot over them.

XXXIII. This, with the pre-eminence and superiority that Ycolmkill had over all the Scottish and Pictish monasteries, so often mentioned by Bede, is what this Saxon writer was struck with, when he tells us^(a) "that the northern province of the Scots and all the Picts, even the bishops themselves, were, by an unusual custom, subject to the Abbot of Ycolmkill, though he was a priest only, and not a bishop." But that this was only a voluntary deference or respect paid to that abbot by the bishops, occasioned by their education from their youth, or from their first entry to the monastery, under the obedience to this abbot, and that it can by no means be understood of any derogation from the episcopal dignity considered in itself, appears evidently by what Adamnan, abbot of this same monastery (upon the place and nearer the time, and, by consequence, incomparably better informed than Bede could be), relates of Cronan, the stranger bishop who came to visit S. Columba in Ycolmkill. And this relation, though it hath

^(a) Habere autem solet ipsa insula (Hy) rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri, et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam Episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subiecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius qui non Episcopus, sed Presbyter extitit et Monachus. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

been frequently quoted already by Episcopal writers, yet it containing a most evident proof of the respect paid to the episcopal Character in the monastery of Ycolmkill, particularly by S. Columba himself, I shall here set it down in Adamnan's words. A. D. 563.

At a certain^(a) time there came out of the province of Momonie to S. Columba (in his monastery of Ycolmkill) a stranger bishop called Cronan, who, out of humility, did all he could to conceal his Character, so as it might not appear that he was a bishop, but that he might pass for a priest only. But he could not keep his dignity or Character undiscovered by S. Columba ; for upon the Lord's day, according to custom, being invited by the Saint to consecrate^(b) the Body of Christ, he called upon the Saint that they might like two priests join together in the fraction of the Bread of the Lord. S. Columba, therefore, coming to him at the altar suddenly, and looking him attentively in the face, discovering what he was, said to him : Christ bless you, brother, do you alone break this sacred Bread according to the episcopal rite, for now we know that you are a bishop. Why have you hitherto concealed yourself from us, and hindered us to pay you the respect and veneration due to your Character. The humble stranger, hearing this, was struck with astonishment, and he and all that were present glorified Christ in the Saint.

By this relation of Adamnan it is evident, in the first place, that a very great distinction used to be made in Ycolmkill in the respect to bishops, from what was usually paid to priests, and that the respect due by the custom of that holy place to bishops, was so far above that which was paid to priests, that S. Columba amicably accuses this stranger bishop of giving occasion, by concealing his dignity, to himself and to his religious men to fail in their duty in omitting to render him the respect and veneration due to a bishop, and treating him only with that due to a priest, till the Saint by revelation discovered his Character.

It appears in the second place by this relation, that according to the usages of Ycolmkill, which in those days were the standard of discipline among the Scots and Picts, a greater respect was in some manner paid to bishops in that monastery, and a greater distinction made betwixt them and priests in the celebration of the sacred mysteries, than in other Churches of the Occident, either in those ages or ours. For by this relation it appears

^(a) Adamnan, lib. i. c. 44.

^(b)Conficere Corpus Christi. Ibid.

A. D. 563. that in Ycolmkill a priest, even the abbot S. Columba himself, looked upon a bishop so far superior to him, that he would not presume, even though invited, to concelebrate or celebrate the holy mysteries jointly with him; but though he was ready to join with this stranger in the consecration of the mysteries, taking him at first only for a priest, how soon he discovered that he was a bishop he modestly retired, and prayed him to consecrate alone according to the episcopal rite, as bishops used to do then among the Scots.

Whereas in the Roman Church, according to a most ancient custom as yet in use in several great Churches in France, the bishop upon solemn days was accompanied^(a) by twelve priests, who concelebrated or jointly celebrated with him; pronouncing with him the words of consecration, and all the Canon of the Mass. In the Church of Paris, on Maundy Thursday, two priests concelebrate in the same manner with the bishop, pronounce all with him, and communicate with him in both kinds. And everywhere, even at present in the Occident, as it is prescribed in the Pontifical,^(b) all priests newly ordained or consecrated concelebrate with the bishop that ordains them, saying along with him, word for word, the words of the oblation and consecration, and all the rest of the Canon, which it seems would have been looked upon as a derogation to the respect due to the Character of a bishop in Ycolmkill.

It is to be further observed in this relation, that at the same time that Adamnan makes use of the scriptural expression of breaking the Bread of our Lord, instead of the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist, or solemnity of Mass, which are his usual expressions, he explains in the most energetic terms, upon this occasion, the faith of S. Columba and of his disciples concerning this mystery, by the words "*conficere Corpus Christi*," which (as we have already observed,) literally signify to make or produce the Body of Christ at the altar.

But to return. And now, I hope, by the behaviour of S. Columba towards Bishop Cronan, it hath sufficiently appeared that there was no where a greater respect paid to the episcopal Character than in Ycolmkill, nor anywhere a greater distinction made betwixt a bishop and a priest, and that, by consequence, the subjection of the Scottish or Pictish bishops to the Abbot of Ycolmkill mentioned by Bede, (and supposing that Bede was

^(a) Mabillon, *Museum Ital.* *Ordo Roman.*

^(b) *Pontificale Roman.* in *Ordinatione Presbyter.*

not mistaken,) can be only meant of a certain deference or respect that the bishops bred up in Ycolmkill (where generally all the bishops of the Scots and Picts were educated in those ages.) continued afterwards to pay to the abbot; and that no argument can be drawn from Bede's words against the distinction of bishops and priests, nor against bishops being of a superior Order to priests. Even Bede himself was surprised at what he heard of the Abbot of Ycolmkill's power over bishops, and therefore calls it an unusual custom.

A. D. 563.

XXXIV. But supposing even that it had been more usual, it could be of no use to the Presbyterian cause, which chiefly depends upon, and must be reduced to this question: Whether the Character of a simple presbyter be equal to that of a bishop, and can enable him to perform validly the functions attached to the episcopal Order, especially that of ordaining priests and bishops. For, as I have elsewhere observed,⁽¹⁾ the power of ordination, and that alone, is the characteristic distinction betwixt bishops and priests, and everybody that is acquainted with the history, discipline, and usages of the Church, knows that a wide difference is to be made betwixt the power of Order, which is of divine institution, and that of jurisdiction, superiority of rank and exterior honours and deferences, which, oftentimes, depend upon times, places, and other circumstances of human institution. So that, though it could be shown that some abbots had a superior rank, or even exercised a kind of jurisdiction over some bishops, yet that would in no manner serve to authorise the Presbyterians intruding themselves, without episcopal ordination, into the exercise of the power of the keys, the administration of the Word and Sacraments, their taking any spiritual authority over the faithful, or intermeddling with any other functions belonging to the pastoral charge, much less with that of giving ordination, which, as we have shown, is the most essential prerogative of the episcopal Character, incommunicable to any other.

We have too many examples in ecclesiastical history of churchmen, of an inferior Order and Character, their endeavouring to equal themselves, and, by degrees, to obtain a preference of rank and honour, and even a superiority over those of a higher Order. But whatever toleration, or even approbation, those pretensions have, by degrees, obtained, yet there is no example of the Church's tolerating, much less approving, any usurpation

⁽¹⁾ Supra, Book First, XLIII.

A. D. 563. of the power of ordination, in any, however dignified or powerful, who was not invested with the episcopal Character.

For the purpose, the presumption of some deacons, or archdeacons, in great Churches, and their aspiring to an equality, or even a preference to priests, is a grievance as old as S. Hierome's time,^(a) in the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century. And though the trust that many bishops put in their archdeacons, their being the dispensers of the Church revenue, their having a share of episcopal jurisdiction delegated to them, and other privileges and prerogatives granted to them by the bishops preferably to others of their clergy of higher Orders, though all this, I say, increased at last their power and authority to that height that some archdeacons came at last to have a court of their own, with jurisdiction over curates and other priests in their precinct, with a power not only to visit and correct, but to decern pains against them. Yet, as it would be absurd to conclude from this power of jurisdiction granted to archdeacons over priests, that therefore the Order of deacon (which is all that belongs to any archdeacon) was equal or preferable to that of a priest, or that an archdeacon who had only the Order of diaconate, and had never been promoted to that of priesthood, could validly exercise the chief functions of the sacerdotal Order, to wit, consecrate or offer the holy mysteries of the Eucharist, so it is no less absurd, even supposing that the Abbot of Ycolmkill had had jurisdiction over the Scottish or Pictish bishops in some ages, to infer from thence that these abbots had the power of ordaining priests, or that any of them, being only in priest's Orders, ever adopted it.

XXXV. But we have from the same Adamnan, one of these abbots, a proof by which, if well considered, it appears no less evidently than by that we have already brought from him of the superiority of the Character of bishops over that of priests, that the Columbite priests, however dignified, even though founders and Superiors of Columbite monasteries, yet never dared to venture upon conferring the Order of priest, not even to one of their own monks, but that though they had the strongest motives to exert the power of ordination, had they been invested with it, yet they were forced to send at a distance for a bishop to come and perform the function, when they had resolved to have one of their Religious men promoted to the Order of priesthood. I shall here set down at full length this relation of

^(a) Hieronym. Epistola ad Evag.

Adamnan, with its proper title (which contains the names and quality of the persons and places) and then make some observations upon it.

A. D. 563.

The title, which is of equal authority with the text, is conceived thus : "The^(a) Prophecy of the holy man (S. Columba) concerning Findchan, priest and founder of the monastery (of Columbites) in Shetland, which in Scots is called Artchain." Then follows the relation itself in these words : "Upon a certain time, the said Findchan, priest and soldier (that is, servant) of Christ, brought with him from Ireland to Britain, in the clerical (or religious) habit, Aidus or Hugh, surnamed the Black, descended of the royal race of Ireland, that he might pass some years with him, in a penitential pilgrimage in his monastery of Artchain. Now this Aidus Niger had been a very sanguinary man, and had put many to death, among others he had killed Dermot, the son of Kerbuil, who had been made king of all Ireland, by God's appointment. After that this Aidus Niger had spent some time in penance in Findchan's monastery, he was there, by Findchan's order, who had a vehement affection for him, ordained priest, against the canons, by a bishop sent for on purpose. But the bishop" (informed, apparently, of the former wicked life of Aidus,) "refused to impose hands upon him, unless Findchan, in token of his consent and confirmation, would at same time lay his right hand upon Aidus's head. When an account of this ordination" (so opposite to the canons) "was brought to S. Columba, it shocked and grieved him extremely, and" (in a prophetic spirit) "he pro-

^(a) *Beati Prophetatio viri (Columbæ) de Findchano presbytero, illius monasterii fundatore, quod Scottice Artchain nuncupatur, in Ethica terra.*

Alio in tempore, supramemoratus presbyter Findchanus Christi miles, Aidum cognomento nigrum, regio genere ortum, Cruthinium gente, de Scotia ad Britanniam sub clericatus habitu secum adduxit, ut in suo apud se monasterio per aliquot peregrinaretur annos; qui scilicet Aidus niger valde sanguinarius homo, et multorum fuerat trucidator; qui et Dermotum filium Cerbuil totius Scotiæ regnatorem, Deo auctore ordinatum, interfecerat. Ille itaque idem Aidus post aliquantum in peregrinatione transactum tempus, accito episcopo, quamvis non recte, apud supradictum Findchanum presbyter ordinatus est. Episcopus tamen non ausus est super caput ejus manum imponere, nisi prius idem Findchanus, Aidum carnaliter amans, suam capiti ejus pro confirmatione imponeret dexteram. Quæ talis ordinatio cum postea sancto intimaretur viro, (Columbæ) ægre tulit. Tum proinde hanc de illo Findchano, et de Aido ordinato formidabilem profatur sententiam, inquiens. Illa manus dextera quam Findchanus, contra fas et jus ecclesiasticum, super caput filii perditionis imposuit, mox computrescet, et post magnos dolorum cruciatus, ipsum in terra sepeliendum præcedet, et ipse, post suam humatam manum, per multos superstes victurus est annos. Ordinatus, vero indebite Aidus sicut canis ad vomitum reverteretur suum, et ipse rursus sanguinolentus trucidator existet, et ad ultimum lancea jugalandus, de ligno in aquam cadens, innumerus morietur. Talem multo prius terminum promeruit vitæ qui totius regem trucidavit Scotiæ. Quæ beati viri prophetia de utroque adimpleta est..... Adamnan. Vit. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 36.

A D. 563. — nounced this formidable sentence against Findchan and Aidus. That right hand which Findchan hath irreligiously, and against the laws of the Church, imposed upon the head of the son of perdition, shall rot away after many piercing torments, and be cut off and buried, and Findchan himself shall outlive his hand many years.

"And as for Aidus, so unlawfully ordained," continues the Saint, "he shall, like a dog, return to his vomit, and become a sanguinary man again, till at last he shall be pierced with a lance, and, falling from a tree into the water, he shall be drowned. Such a miserable end the murderer of the king of all Ireland deserved long ago.

"This prophecy of S. Columba was fully accomplished," says Adamnan, "concerning them both. For the right hand of the priest Findchan, being rotten off at the wrist, was buried, long before him, in the isle called Ornon, and he himself, as the Saint had foretold it, survived it several years; and Aidus Niger, unworthy of the name of priest, relapsed into his former crimes, and, being pierced with a lance, fell down into a loch from the prow of a ship or bark, and was drowned."

XXXVI. And now I ask leave to make some obvious observations upon this relation of Adamnan; and, in the first place, it is to be remarked that this Findchan was one^(a) of the disciples of S. Columba, who either came along with him, or followed him soon after, from Ireland into Britain, that he was not only a Columbite priest, but a founder, president, or Superior of one of their monasteries, and, by consequence, one of the chief of them, and endued with all the powers or faculties that any priest of Yoolmkill could pretend to. On the other hand, this Aidus Niger had been King of Ulster, was a particular friend of Findchan, whom he passionately loved, "carnaliter amans," says Adamnan, and therefore he was at the pains to make a voyage on purpose to Ireland in hopes to reclaim him, and engage him into a penitential course of life to atone for his many crimes. Accordingly, Aidus gave all the outward appearances of a real conversion, and, for a proof of it, renounced his royal dignity and possessions, embraced the monastic state and put on the habit, and, in these apparent good dispositions, came along with Findchan to Britain, and was received in his monastery of Arthain, in Shetland, where, after some years' trial, Findchan, blinded by his affection for Aidus, and so more^(b) easily persuaded of the sincerity of

^(a) Colgan, Vit. SS. Hibern. tom. i. p. 583.

^(b) Colgan, *ibid.*

his Conversion, and, perhaps, in order to fix him the better in the monastic state, and in retreat for the rest of his days, or to compensate his abandoning his earthly dignities, by a more sublime one of another Order, resolved to advance him to the Order of priesthood.

A. D. 563.

If Findchan had believed that in quality of priest and Superior of a monastery of the Order of S. Columba, and depending upon Ycolmkill, he himself alone, or with the concurrence of the other priests and seniors of his monastery, had had power to confer the Order of priesthood to Aidus Niger, without the episcopal ministry, he had certainly the most pressing motives imaginable to exert his power upon this occasion. He had no bishop nearer him than upon the continent among the Scots and Picts, and could not doubt but the sending from Shetland in quest of a bishop to advance to holy Orders, against all the canons, a man of that quality, so noted for his crimes, and particularly for bloodshed (of all others the most opposite to the ecclesiastical spirit, and most strictly excluded from Orders by the canons), would make a noise, and if it came to be publicly known, it could not fail to give very great scandal both in Britain and Ireland, and shock all good men, and in particular the holy abbot S. Columba, Superior of his and of all the other monasteries, and draw from the holy man, as it did, severe punishments upon himself, and upon all concerned in that sacrilegious ordination.

Whereas, supposing that Findchan himself, with the other priests of his monastery had thought themselves sufficiently qualified and empowered to ordain a priest, they might have easily ordained Aidus in so remote a corner as Shetland, without that it had made any noise. Aidus had solemnly renounced the world, abandoned his country for ever, made profession of the monastic state, retired to bury himself, as it were, in a private monastery in the most distant corner of the northern isles of Britain, so as to be no more heard of in the world. In this case, since Findchan was resolved to have Aidus made priest at any rate, the ordaining him by Findchan himself, and the other presbyters and seniors of a monastery, in so remote a corner, might have made no noise anywhere else. Now when we see that Findchan, notwithstanding his earnestness to get Aidus ordained priest, and the importance of not divulging the ordination of a man so infamous for his crimes, could find no other means of having this ordination performed than by sending, and perhaps far enough, through the Picts and Scots, for a bishop, which could not fail to make a noise; and in the next

A. D. 563.

place, that he engaged the bishop to perform the function, notwithstanding his reluctancy to take upon himself alone the guilt of an ordination (which it appears he doubted, at least, was criminal and sacrilegious) unless Findchan would at same time lay his right hand upon Aidus to bear a part, as it were, of the guilt and of the reproach. When we consider, I say, and ponder all the circumstances of this ordination, it seems not possible to conceive that Findchan, with all his qualities of priest, of founder, and of Superior of a Columbite monastery, and, by consequence, that any other Abbot, Superior, or Priest of Ycolmkill, or all of them together, destituted of the episcopal Character, ever so much as claimed, or pretended any right or power to ordain a priest, much less to ordain or consecrate a bishop. So that by this relation of Adamnan, it appears evident, that nothing can be more repugnant to the usages of Ycolmkill, as well as to those of all the rest of the Christian Church in all places and ages, than to pretend, as our Presbyterians do, that Aidan, Finan, and the other Scottish bishops sent to the north of England, or any of the bishops of the Scots and Picts, were consecrated or ordained bishops by the Abbot, priests, seniors, or other monks of Ycolmkill, without the concurrence or ministry of a true and proper bishop. And thus much to Adamnan's relation of the ordination of Aidus.

But before I leave it, these farther observations may be made upon it, First, that the exterior rites of ordination of priests among the Scots in ancient times were, in the main, conformable to the universal practice of the Church, and, in particular, to the prescript of the third Canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, to wit, by the imposition of the hands of a bishop, and of the priests that were present. Second, we see here the respect that S. Columba bore to the episcopal dignity, in the sentence he pronounced against this sacrilegious ordination. For though the bishop that ordained Aidus Niger was apparently one of those that had been bred up in Ycolmkill, that had been ordained in that monastery, and sent out from thence (as the custom then was) to serve the faithful among the Scots and Picts, and was no less guilty of the violation of the canons than the priest Findchan was in this ordination (however he had performed it with reluctancy, which showed that he acted against his conscience, or in a doubt), yet S. Columba pronounced no judgment or sentence against him, as he did against Findchan and Aidus. And there appears no other reason for this regard, but that the holy man would not assume a power over a

bishop, or pronounce sentence against him, out of respect to his Character. Third, This relation confirms what we have formerly mentioned, that there were bishops at large among the Scots and Picts, ready upon a call to be found upon all emergencies, as their ministry happened to be wanted, and these bishops sent out from Ycolmkill, and generally residing in lesser monasteries with their disciples, in different cantons of the countries of the Scots and Picts, supplied the want of diocesan episcopacy, till the divisions and different interests of the inhabitants being made up and reconciled by degrees, made way for the canonical division of these northern parts into distinct dioceses.

A. D. 563.

XXXVII. By all we have said it is evident, and will farther appear by what we shall have to add afterwards, that Ycolmkill was in those days the Mother-Church of all those among the Scots and Picts, and the centre of all their ecclesiastical affairs, that in this monastery their bishops and other pastors were bred up, formed, ordained, and sent out from thence, for the service of the faithful, into all parts where their ministry was wanted, not only among the Scots and the Picts, but, as we shall see, in after times, among the Saxons through all the northern parts of England. Now this consideration should, I conceive, suffice alone to convince all impartial readers, acquainted with the discipline of the Church in all ages, that there must have been one or more bishops constantly residing in Ycolmkill, at least, for giving ordinations; especially if to this be added the proof already drawn from the ordination of Aidus Niger, by which it appears that none of the most dignified priests or Superiors of monasteries depending upon Ycolmkill, durst venture, however pressing motives they had to induce them, to ordain a single priest, not even one of their own monks. But first, that there was a proper bishop, constantly residing in the great monastery of Ycolmkill, receives a farther confirmation from the unquestionable accounts that we have of the like practice in other great monasteries abroad, in which we find not only proper bishops residing, but in some of these monasteries a succession of proper bishops continued on, for giving ordinations, and exercising the other episcopal functions in these religious houses. Though there appears no need of any such extraordinary bishops in them, their diocesan bishops being oftentimes near at hand, much less was there any such absolute necessity of a proper bishop in them, as there was in Ycolmkill in the times we speak of, when there was as yet no regular division of our northern parts of this island into dioceses, nor any diocesan bishops settled as yet among the Scots and Picts, that we know of.

A. D. 563.

For the purpose, in the famous monastery of S. Denys,^(a) of France, though it be situated within two short leagues of the episcopal seat of the diocesan, to wit, the Bishop of Paris, there was not only a proper bishop for the monastery, but a succession of proper bishops, all of them consecrated in the usual form by the neighbouring bishops, as it is manifest by the Bull^(b) of Pope Stephen III. to the Abbot of S. Denys. There was also a succession of such proper bishops in the great monastery^(c) of S. Martin, of Tours, though it be, in a manner, at the door of the diocesan bishop, their metropolitan. The same practice we find in many other great monasteries, as in Lobbe^(d) or Laubes, in the diocese of Cambray; in Honon, Honangium,^(e) a great monastery in Alsace, of which the abbots were also bishops; and by the writs and charters published by Father Mabillon,^(f) it appears this monastery of Honon belonged to the Scots. Among other charters of donation, there is one of the Abbot Beatus, which bears that this monastery was founded for the pilgrims and poor of the nation of the Scots, "*ad pauperes^(g) et peregrinos gentis Scottorum.*" This charter is signed by seven bishops without fixed seats or titles; and all the seven were Scots or Irish bishops, as Father Mabillon observes from their names, by which also appears, as it doth by other ancient monuments, that there was rather an abuse in former ages, among the Scots and Irish, in multiplying bishops without necessity, than a want of bishops necessary for the support of religion and giving ordination. In fine, this same learned writer tells us elsewhere^(h) that the custom of having bishops in monasteries was in use in many other parts of the Christian world.

Now it appears there was no kind of necessity of proper bishops in most of these monasteries; nor any other use of them but for a distinction and honour, or in order to preserve their privileges, exemption and independency from their diocesan bishops. Whereas, in Ycolmkill, there was an absolute necessity of the episcopal ministry to ordain bishops, priests, and other ministers for all the Picts and Scots in Britain. And we find, that

^(a) Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 168.

^(b) Concil. General. edit. Labbe, tom. vi. col. 1776, 1777.

^(c) Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. ii. pp. 178, 179.

^(d) *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 33; Labbe, Concil. General. tom. vi. col. 1701, 1702.

^(e) *Ibid.* *Annal. Benedict.* tom. ii. pp. 698, 699, 700.

^(f) *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 39.

^(g) *Ibid.* tom. ii. pp. 699, 700.

^(h) Mabillon, *de re Diplom.* p. 629.

even from the north of Ireland, where there were many monasteries, subject to Ycolmkill, there came bishops to receive their consecration in that Mother-Church, witness Colman, of whose journey to Ycolmkill Adamnan^(a) makes mention, and we find by the Life of S. Ita, Virgin,^(b) that this Colman's journey to Ycolmkill was in order to be consecrated bishop.

All this being, and considering the great number^(c) of bishops in Ireland, whence the Scots had received the doctrine and discipline of Christianity, and from whence S. Columba coming over, brought along with him the same discipline, as well as doctrine, concerning Church government, to which he himself and his first disciples had been bred up and accustomed, and not to insist upon what the author of the fifth Life of S. Columba relates^(d) of many bishops coming over from Ireland with S. Columba, nor upon the conjecture already^(e) mentioned, though it be very natural, that Ycolmkill was in those ancient times the ordinary residence of the chief or national Bishop of the Scots in Britain, but especially considering the practice above-mentioned of proper bishops in other great monasteries, where there was no absolute necessity of them, as it is visible there was in Ycolmkill. All this, I say, considered, I do not conceive how it can be rationally doubted but that there was one or more bishops residing in Ycolmkill.

Nor is this practice or usage of Hy or Ycolmkill destituted of examples in antiquity. This usage, as we have seen, consisted chiefly in this, that the Abbot or Superior of the monastery had not only the charge of the monastery, but that, though he was only a priest, and not a bishop, he had the administration of the pastoral functions and charge of the souls of the faithful of all the country around, that he was therefore obliged to provide them of pastors, and for that end took care to educate and to form in his monastery subjects proper not only to be ordained pastors of the second Order, but fit to be promoted to the episcopal degree, and that in order to that, he had always in his monastery with him a bishop, as his coadjutor, for administrating the Sacraments of Confirmation and Order.

Now, of all this we have a famous example in the person of S. Gregory, administrator of the Church of Utrecht, in the eighth age. S. Gregory, born of noble parents, educated by S. Boniface, Apostle of these northern

(a) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 5.

(b) Vit. S. Ita, Virg. c. 21. apud Colgan, tom. i. SS. Hibern. p. 69.

(c) Supra, Book First, XLVI.

(d) Colgan, Trias Thaumaturg. p. 410.

(e) Supra, Book Second, XXIV.

A. D. 563. parts of the Continent (afterwards Bishop of Mentz, and Martyr) being left by him administrator of Utrecht and the adjacent countries, settled in his monastery at Utrecht a famous school or seminary for the education as well of churchmen of all degrees, as of simple Religious men, and his humility, as that of S. Columba did, having engaged him to decline his being promoted himself to the episcopal dignity, he sent Alubert, an Englishman, one of his disciples, to be consecrated bishop at York, in order to be his coadjutor, and to perform the episcopal functions of giving Confirmation and Ordination, which he himself, being destituted of the episcopal Character, could not administrate. This appears just a parallel case to that of S. Columba, and to his monastery of Ycolmkill. This S. Gregory of Utrecht lived in the eighth age. An account of him may be seen at more length in Mabillon's *Benedictine*^(a) Annals, in M. Baillet's *Saints*^(b) Lives, taken from S. Gregory's original Life written by S. Ludger, Bishop, his disciple and contemporary, and printed by Mabillon in the Acts of the *Benedictine*^(c) Order.

XXXVIII. Second, we have a plain proof from the Ulster Annals, as Bishop Ussher assures us, of there having been a proper bishop in Ycolmkill or Hy: not to insist upon the conjecture of "*Episcopus Myensis*" being a mistake of the transcriber for *Episcopus Hyensis*, in the subscriptions of the bishops to the Council of Calcuith, holden about A.D. 787, in the north of England, which is so much the more likely, that we find nowhere in England any bishop of the title of *Myensis*, and that nothing is more ordinary than mistakes of one letter for another in the reading of old M.SS.

Third, as Ycolmkill was the nursery of bishops for the Scots and Picts, so it served them also for a place of retreat or refuge when either age rendered them unable to continue their labours, or that they were forced by opposition to abandon their charge, or were frightened with the burden, or wearied with toil. Hither, also, they frequently retired to renew and resuscitate the spirit of fervour by the holy exercises and exemplar conversation of the pious inhabitants, and in all their difficulties and doubts, thither they resorted to consult the Abbot or other experienced Religious men, full of the Spirit of God and of the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and canons of the Church, with which this island abounded, especially in the

^(a) Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* pp. 172, 186.

^(b) Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, 25 Aoust.

^(c) Mabillon, *Act. Benedict. Secul.* iii. part. 2.

first ages after its foundation, and before the invasion of the Danes, in the ninth and tenth ages. Thus, besides the ordinary bishop residing in this island, there scarce ever wanted other bishops, brought thither by some of the foresaid motives.

A. D. 563.

Thus we see Bishop Colman,^(a) being obliged to abandon his flock in Northumberland, A.D. 664, went straight back to the monastery of Ycolmkill, and stayed there two or three years before he went to Ireland and set up a new monastery for his followers; for, according to Bede, Colman left Northumberland and went to Ycolmkill immediately after the dispute, about Easter, A.D. 664. And he sailed thence to Ireland, to settle his new monastery only A.D. 667, according to Bishop Ussher,^(b) from the Ulster Chronicle. Thus Ceollach,^(c) Bishop of the Mercians, left his charge and returned also to Ycolmkill for the rest of his days. Thus Egbert (who, as Mabillon^(d) shows, was a true and proper bishop, and we shall prove it in its own place,) thus Egbert, I say, came from Ireland to Ycolmkill^(e) before A.D. 716, and lived fourteen years in this monastery, till his death, A.D. 729; besides many other bishops, whom the sanctity of the place, and the society of so many learned and holy men, attracted to visit them frequently, and even to live and die among them. By all this, it is evident there never wanted one or more bishops in Ycolmkill, in order to consecrate other bishops and priests for the Picts and Scots, to be sent wherever their ministry was required, and by that means to supply all the ends of diocesan episcopacy, where it was not as yet settled.

XXXIX. We are now to show that this monastery of Ycolmkill, with those derived from, and depending upon it, supplied also in our northern parts the want of curates or proper priests of the second Order, before that country was divided into parishes. We have already observed that, till the time of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 668, the English or Saxon Churches were not distributed into parishes, and, considering the wars and frequent alterations of marches among the Scots, it is like this discipline was of a later establishment among them than in England. Till this distribution of the country into parishes was settled, the spiritual wants

^(a) (Colmanus Episcopus) relictis in ecclesia sua Lindisfarnensi fratribus, primo venit ad insulam Hy. Bed Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 4.

^(b) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 499. Vide etiam Joannis Smith Notas ad Bedam, p. 146.

^(c) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 21.

^(d) Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. ii. p. 81.

^(e) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 23.

A. D. 563. of these people were supplied by bishops and priests from the several monasteries founded by S. Columba himself, or by his disciples, in different places of the two kingdoms. Besides the monasteries of Ycolmkill, in Britain, and of Dearnmach, in Ireland, Bede^(a) relates that there were a great number of monasteries derived from these two chief ones, and founded in both countries, not only by S. Columba himself, but also by his disciples. And Adamnan informs us of the foundation of these monasteries in Britain, where, giving account of the pestilence that raged in his time (circ. A.D. 680) over all Europe, and particularly in Britain and Ireland, he attributes the^(b) preservation of the Scots and Picts alone from that contagion, by a special protection of Almighty God, to the prayers of S. Columba, whose monasteries, says Adamnan, erected within the bounds of these two people, are till this day held in the greatest veneration by them both. By this we see, first, the confidence that our predecessors, the Scots and Picts, put in S. Columba's prayers many years after his death, and the distinguishing mercies they were persuaded that Almighty God showed them by S. Columba's intercession. Secondly, that there were many monasteries of Columbites spread up and down through the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts. But as to their names, their number, and their situation, Adamnan, keeping so scrupulously within the bounds which he had proposed to himself in the Life of S. Columba, as we have already observed, that is, only to treat of his prophecies, miracles, and of the angelical apparitions made to S. Columba, gives us no other detail of his monasteries, nor almost even of his life, than as it happens to come in, as it were, by the by, in the relation of some one or other of the three foresaid heads, to which all his work is reduced. And, for the same reason, we have from him so lame and transient accounts, or rather, bare hints, of our civil and ecclesiastical history. So what we observed elsewhere of the insufficiency and weakness of all negative arguments drawn from the silence of Bede upon our history, is no less visible in Adamnan's relations of S. Columba's life.

For the purpose Adamnan makes no mention of any of the monasteries

^(a) Per plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus (Columbæ) in Britannia et Hibernia propagata sunt. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

^(b)Oceani insule per totum, videlicet Scotia et Britannia, binis vicibus vastatæ sunt dira pestilentia, exceptis duobus populis, hoc est, Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britannie....Cui alio itaque hæc tribuitur gratia a Deo collata nisi S. Columbæ, ejus monasteria intra utrorumque terminos fundata, ab utrisque usque ad præsens tempus valde sunt honorificata. Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 47.

founded by S. Columba among the Scots and Picts in Britain, as well as in Ireland, but transiently, and upon occasion of some passage of S. Columba's life or miracles; and even as to Ycolmkill itself, the head and chief of all S. Columba's monasteries, and in which he made his ordinary residence, Adamnan gives us no particular account of its foundation, nor of the order and discipline established in it, but what we may collect and glean, as it were by the by, from some passages of Adamnan concerning S. Columba's life and miracles. Thus also, that is, only transiently, he mentions the monasteries of Campolunghe^(a) and Artechain^(b) in Shetland, Cella Duini,^(c) Kildune, the monasteries in the island of Himba,^(d) where S. Columba retired sometimes. (It is like Himba was what is since called Ouyst or the Long Island.) But there can be no doubt, (though Adamnan doth not mention it,) but one of S. Columba's chief monasteries among the Picts was at Abernethy in Stratherne; that being the principal seat of the kings and bishops of the Picts; another, no doubt, was at Dunkeld, which held S. Columba always for its patron. Boece^(e) relates that King Conal, among other monasteries, built one at Dunkeld for S. Columba; one in the island Æmonia, in the frith of Forth, called from him Insula S. Columbæ, Inchcolm, where, according to Fordun, S. Columba took up his dwelling^(f) sometimes, whilst he preached the Faith to the Picts and Scots. It was afterwards erected into an abbey of Canons-regular by King Alexander the First. There was also a monastery of S. Columba founded in his own time at Old Aberdeen by S. Machar, otherwise called S. Mochonna, whom the Saint sent with others of his disciples, twelve in number as we shall see, to preach the Gospel among the Picts in the north; and many other monasteries through the Pictish and Scottish territories. Such, among others, were the monasteries, churches, or cells of most of these holy bishops, whose names we have already^(g) set down from our ancient kalendars. In these monasteries they lived with their disciples, whereof some were always priests, and to them the people in the neighbourhood had their recourse for instruction, and for the sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Holy

^(a) Adamnan. lib. i. cc. 30, 41.

^(b) Ibid. lib. i. c. 36.

^(c) Ibid. lib. i. c. 31.

^(d) Ibid. lib. i. cc. 21. 45.

^(e) Boeth. Hist. fol. 167.

^(f) Fordun, apud Colgan Trias Thaum. p. 466.

^(g) Supra, Book Second, XXV.

A. D. 563. Eucharist. From the remains of these monasteries of the Columbites came originally so many churches in all parts of Scotland, especially in the Highlands and Isles, called Ceille or Kill, with the addition of the name of some holy bishop, abbot, or other saint, who had formerly founded or inhabited these monasteries or churches, or from whose names, in memory of their sanctity, the piety of the inhabitants had erected and called these religious monuments, many of which gave the origin to parish churches, and some of these Columbite monasteries gave probably the first origin to bishop's seats, as at Dunkeld, Brechin, Aberdeen, &c.

All these monasteries were originally derived from that of Ycolmkill, lived in dependance upon it, and in a constant correspondence with it, as being the mother house and centre of all religious matters within the kingdoms of the Picts and the Scots. And now, by all we have said, I hope it sufficiently appears that it was from that monastery, and from other lesser ones depending upon it, that the want of diocesan episcopacy and parochial churches was supplied, whilst the unsettled state of the inhabitants hindered them to be regularly established.

XL. If we would have a farther account of the zeal, the voyages, the pious exercises, and of the other particulars of the manner in which the Columbite bishops and priests served in all religious matters the Scots and Picts, during the times that the circumstances of these people did not allow of the settlement of fixed dioceses and parishes, we have it in the account that Bede^(a) gives us of S. Aidan, S. Finan, S. Colman, S. Cuthbert, and other Columbite bishops and priests in the north of England and south of Scotland, all of them bred to the rule and exercises of the monastery of Ycolmkill, or in the monasteries derived from it.

But referring that to its proper place, I shall only take notice here that the sanctity of the lives and the religious behaviour of the Columbite bishops and priests, bred up and formed to the ecclesiastical state in the manner we have already described, and entering it in the dispositions and preparations we have set down, their detachment from the world, all their conversations, care, and only business, as Bede describes^(b) them, being only about the next life, concerning Almighty God, and what related to his service. All

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cc. 5, 26.

^(b)Tota enim tunc fuit sollicitudo doctoribus illis Deo serviendi non sæculo..... Unde et in magna erat veneratione, tempore illo, religionis habitus, ita ut ubicunque clericus aliquis vel monachus adveniret, gaudenter ab omnibus tanquam Dei famulus, exciperetur, &c. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 26.

this made so deep an impression on the people that not only they thronged in to hear them, and to receive their blessing and instructions, when any of them came into their neighbourhood, says Bede, but it obtained to them among the vulgar, the peculiar name of Servants of God, expressed in former times by the word Ceiledee or Keledee, so famous in our country in following ages, but whether originally Pictish or Gaelic is not easy to determine at this distance of time. However though the word Keledee be now become obsolete, it is still expressed in Gaelic by the word Gildee or Guildhee, which hath the same signification, and almost the same sound. But of this more at length in its proper place.

A. D. 563.

And now it is time to bring to a conclusion this long digression concerning Ycolmkill. The learned and judicious readers will, I hope, excuse my insisting so long upon it, because they will easily perceive how important it was to go at once to the bottom of all that concerns that famous monastery, and its more singular usages; thereby at the same time to give more light to the following part of our history, whereof that of Ycolmkill is, as it were, a key; but chiefly in order to dissipate the clouds with which the prejudices joined to the ignorance of some of our modern writers have endeavoured to overcast and wrest the history of Ycolmkill, thereby to screen their levelling Genevian scheme of Church government, doctrine, and discipline from the just accusation of novelty, and of its being quite opposite as well to the ancient Church government doctrine and discipline of our ancestors the Scots and Picts, as to that of all the rest of the Christian world in those early times.

XLI. I return now to the chronological order of S. Columba's life, and of the other transactions in our northern parts of the Island, from his coming over to it.

S. Columba arriving in Britain, as we have seen, A.D. 563, employed the first two years in settling his monastery in the island Iona, which Conal King of the Scots had given him. That island being of such a small compass could not furnish the materials necessary for building a church and other habitations for S. Columba and his disciples. We see by S. Adamnan's relations^(*) that the religious men of Ycolmkill were obliged to bring from the mainland the materials for their buildings; so that however poor and mean they made them, being most part in those times but bare cottages, it required both time and labour to erect a church and a monastery.

(*) Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 45.

A. D. 568.

XLII. It was during the time they were employed in that, and not long after S. Columba's arrival, that Odrannus^(a) or Oran, one of those that followed him from Ireland, died, and was the first buried in the island. One of the writers of S. Columba's life set down by Colgan, gives the following account of S. Oran's death. It is related, says he, that upon S. Columba's arrival with his disciples into the island Iona or Hy, he spoke thus to them: Whosoever of us, out of a desire to be with God, shall choose and be content to be the first that dies and is buried in this island, he shall procure a twofold advantage; the one to himself, to wit, that of going more quickly to Christ, the other to his condisciples and brethren, to wit, that of confirming and ratifying their right to this island, by taking corporal possession of it. Oran, who was wearied of the miseries of the present world, and had his heart fixed upon the happiness of enjoying God in the life to come, upon hearing these words of S. Columba immediately replied to him that he joyfully accepted the option, and was most willing to go to God without delay. Upon which the holy man said to him, Dear son, you may assuredly reckon upon the future happiness which you long after, and, besides, you shall even before men enjoy this farther prerogative in this world, that whoever comes to ask any favour of Almighty God at my sepulchre, he shall not obtain the effect of his demand unless he first pay his respects and visit yours. S. Oran died soon after, having been but short while sick, and was the first buried in the island, in a place still called the monument or sepulchre of S. Oran. This relation is not in S. Adamnan's Life of S. Columba, but in that of a later writer. I have here insert it, as having given occasion to a fabulous story current in the island concerning S. Oran's death. His festival was annually kept upon the twenty-seventh October.

After S. Columba had thus employed the first two years in settling the monastery in the island of Hy, and instructing more fully the Scots in Britain already Christians, he proceeded to the chief design of his mission into Britain; that is, to preach the Word of God to the provinces of the Northern Picts, who were separated by steep and frightful mountains from the Picts of the South, who had long before forsaken idolatry, and embraced the faith of Christ, by the preaching of Ninian, a most reverend bishop, as we have elsewhere related.

^(a) Colgan, Vita Quinta S. Columb. Trias. Thaumaturg. p. 411.

XLIII. The first entry of S. Columba among the Northern Picts happened at the time that Brudeus, son of Meilochon, a most powerful king, says^(a) Bede, reigned over them, in the ninth year of his reign, which he had begun A.D. 556. So the coming of S. Columba to the Picts happened A.D. 565. This gave Bede, no doubt, occasion to place his coming to Britain that year. Bede adds that he converted the Northern Picts, by his word and example, to the faith of Christ; this supposes that these Picts were, as yet, generally infidels; and we have elsewhere shown the occasion of a great decay of Christianity in the Pictish^(b) nation, which, at the coming of S. Columba, was gone that length, that even Brudeus, their king, was an infidel, having given himself up to the superstition of their magicians, the same kind of men as the Druids among the old Britons and Irish.

A. D. 565.

Hence it came to pass, that the first time^(c) that S. Columba went to King Brudeus's court, the king, puffed up with pride, and valuing himself upon his grandeur, caused the gates of his palace to be shut against the Saint, which the holy man perceiving, approached the gates, and, first making the sign of the cross upon them, and then gently knocking at them, instantly the locks and bolts flew off, and, the gates opening of themselves, the holy man entered with his company. The king with his council, terrified with this miracle, came forth and met the Saint, and entertained him with great reverence, and from that time forward the king bore a great respect to him, and had him in singular veneration as long as he lived.

Upon this followed the Conversion of the king and of his court, and that made way for the Conversion of the rest of the Northern Picts, and the reconciling those of the South who had fallen away, and in proportion as the inhabitants embraced Christianity, S. Columba settled, from place to place, monasteries among them, to advance and cultivate the doctrine of truth, and in order to that, the Saint made choice of the more zealous and capable of his disciples in Ycolmkill, and sent them out through the country to preach the Gospel and plant new monasteries, and by that means to entertain and forward these happy beginnings.

XLIV. Among others of those that the holy man sent out upon these missions we have, in one of the Lives of S. Columba, published by Colgan,

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.....Venit (S. Columba) Britanniam regnante Pictis Buidio filio Meilochon rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus.....

^(b) Supra, Book First, LV.

^(c) Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 35.

A. D. 565. an account^(a) of the holy bishop, S. Machar, patron and first preacher of the Gospel at Aberdeen, and this account agrees in substance with that contained in the Breviary of Aberdeen, which was annually recited in that Church upon the twelfth of November, being the festival of S. Machar, and both these relations are said to be taken from a Life of this Saint of a higher antiquity. S. Machar was born, of noble parents, in Ireland, and at first named Mochonna. I find him also called Mauritius, but Machar is the name by which he is commonly known. He had followed S. Columba into Britain, and after he had made more than an ordinary progress in piety and in learning in Ycolmkill, S. Columba, having caused him to be advanced to holy Orders, and afterwards to be consecrated bishop, sent him with twelve of his disciples to preach the Gospel in the most northern parts of the Pictish provinces, admonishing him to settle and erect a church upon the brink of a river where he should find that by its windings it formed the figure of a bishop's crosier. S. Machar, following this admonition, went on northward, preaching the Gospel till he came to the brink of the river Don, near its entry to the sea, at a place where, by its windings, the river makes the foresaid figure of a crosier,^(b) and there he built a church, which still bears his name, and became the Cathedral of Aberdeen in the time of King David I., who transferred the bishop's seat from Mortlich to the Old-town of Aberdeen. It is reported that S. Machar went afterwards to Rome, in the time of Gregory the Great, and the Aberdeen Breviary insinuates that it was at Rome that he was consecrated bishop. It is also reported that, upon his return, he stopt at Tours, in France, where he died, and was buried in S. Martin's church: which is probably the reason why, in the remains of the Church of Aberdeen, there is no account of his relics honoured there, as it was usual for holy bishops, dying on the place where they had resided and laboured. However, we see in this, and other examples, that S. Columba's custom was to send out through the country, of his disciples commonly to the number of twelve, with a bishop, or with one designed to that dignity, at their head, to form new Churches, and thus by the preaching and miracles of S. Columba and of his disciples, and by the example of their lives, the Gospel was spread through the Northern Picts; and the body of the nation was so much the more

^(a) Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* Vit. quint. S. Columb. p. 435.

^(b) *Ubi flumen Præsulis fastat baculi intrat mare, Mauritius cæpit habitare.* Breviar. Aberdeen. 12 Novemb. Colgan, *ibid.* p. 435.

easily brought to the knowledge of the truth, and their Conversion the more solid and lasting, that these holy men, animated by the Spirit of God, made use of no human means towards bringing them in, nor of any other motives but those that Christ himself, the Apostles, and apostolical men, had employed, that is, earnest prayers to God, who hath all men's hearts in his hand, and the natural means of practising what they preached, and of persuading and convincing their hearers by sensible miracles wrought by the power and in the name of God, to prove that they were sent by Him, and acted by his authority.

A. D. 565.

XLV. So we must not wonder to find so many miracles set down in the Life of S. Columba, by S. Adamnan. S. Columba had to do with a rude unpolished people whose chief exercise was warlike expeditions, a people drowned in sensuality, wholly governed by their passions, and not susceptible of any impressions but what affected their senses, knowing no rewards or punishments but what fell under these, and fortified in their prejudices against truth by their Druids or magicians, a set of men inspired and animated by the devil, and in great credit and authority with this people, by their charms, enchantments, and false wonders, wrought by the power and influence of the wicked spirits, pretending a power over the elements, and the disposal of all these sensible goods and ills in which sensual and carnal men made their only happiness or misery consist.

With men in these dispositions, and of a temper so different from the polished Greeks and Romans, their first preachers were not to begin by reasonings and arguments drawn from the nature or operations of the soul; their first business was to prove their mission and establish their authority, and in order to that, to demonstrate by miracles falling upon the senses, and above the common course of nature, that they were sent and authorised by the true God, Creator and Master of all, and Author of nature itself, sovereign Master of life and death, and of all visible and sensible as well as of all spiritual and unseen rewards and punishments.

XLVI. This renders the relation that Adamnan gives of S. Columba's miracles so much the more credible, that, besides the testimonies that are rendered, as we have seen, for his probity and sincerity, by the best judges among his contemporaries, it seems impossible that, without miracles, S. Columba could ever have brought about the universal Conversion of men of the temper and in the circumstances in which the Picts were in those days, and made them susceptible of believing and embracing the truths of Chris-

A. D. 565. tianity to that degree of persuasion as to be ready to forsake not only their idols and false superstition of their magicians, but even the objects of their passions, in the enjoyment of which, hitherto, they had placed their only happiness in this life, of which alone they were apprised, and to do all this upon the hopes and fears of rewards and punishments in a life to come, of which they had no notion hitherto.

We must not, then, be surprised when we read in Adamnan that S. Columba wrought, by the power of God, so many sensible miracles, such as to raise^(a) the dead to life, to cure^(b) the sick, to appease^(c) tempests at sea, to alter^(d) the winds, to sail against^(e) them, to open^(f) the bolted gates by his touch, to change^(g) water into wine, to obtain by his prayers the sudden change^(h) of the heart of a woman from an obstinate aversion to her husband into love and affection, to obtain rain⁽ⁱ⁾ in a time of drought, to bring^(k) a fountain out of a rock for baptising a child, in Ardnamurchan, which continues still to flow, to inflict temporal^(l) punishments suddenly on wicked men, to confound^(m) the magicians, to foretel⁽ⁿ⁾ things to come, and done^(o) at a great distance, to obtain^(p) victory to kings, to be visited by angels,^(q) to be ravished^(r) during his prayers, and illustrated^(s) with heavenly splendour. Now all these, and many such other visible miracles, were so many demonstrations of his mission from God, and of his being authorised by Him in what he taught and enjoined, and were so many powerful motives to induce a people moved chiefly by sensible objects to a rational and firm persuasion of the verities that he preached, of the reality and certitude of the invisible objects of faith, and of a life to come after this in another world.

XLVII. And what farther confirms that this Conversion of the Picts was the work of God and of his Divine Spirit, manifested by the miracles of S. Columba, and by his exemplary life, and those of his first disciples, and not the work of flesh and blood, or the effect of human power or industry, is this, that though Brudeus, their king, had already embraced,

(a) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 1; lib. ii. c. 32.

(b) Ibid. lib. ii. cc. 4, 5, 30, 31, &c.

(c) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 42.

(d) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 45.

(e) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 34.

(f) Ibid. lib. ii. cc. 35, 36.

(g) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 1.

(h) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 41.

(i) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 44.

(k) Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 10.

(l) Ibid. lib. ii. cc. 22, 23, 24.

(m) Ibid. lib. ii. cc. 11, 32, 33, 34.

(n) Ibid. lib. i. cc. 1, 2, per totum.

(o) Ibid.

(p) Ibid. lib. i. cc. 1, 8.

(q) Ibid. lib. iii. passim.

(r) Ibid.

(s) Ibid. &c.

as we have seen, the Christian religion, and had a singular veneration for S. Columba, and, by consequence, a readiness to comply with whatever the Saint should advise as the best means towards carrying on the Conversion of his subjects, yet he never used any compulsion or constraint upon the conscience of any of them, not even towards the most obstinate and malicious among them, and the most violent adversaries of the Gospel, such as were the magicians. For he had learned from S. Columba, his instructor, the same lesson that Ethelbert, first Christian king of the Saxons, was afterwards taught by his instructor, S. Augustine: That the service^(a) of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not forced by compulsion.

A. D. 565.

We have a remarkable instance of the gentle method and moderation of King Brudeus towards his infidel subjects, in his conduct towards the magician^(b) Broichanus, who had been formerly his master or governor in his youth, for which reason, the king, mindful of Broichan's former service, permitted him to stay about court, though he remained obstinate in his infidelity. This man having obstinately refused to set at liberty a poor Christian maid, whom he had in bondage, notwithstanding S. Columba's earnest entreating him and soliciting for her, was struck with a heavy sickness, as S. Columba had foretold, that brought him to the gates of death, with which Broichan was so terrified that he at last consented to set the maid at freedom; and the king himself, who still retained a remain of kindness for him, and hoping also apparently that a miracle wrought upon his own person might contribute to open his eyes, sent messengers to S. Columba to intercede for Broichan's recovery, which, accordingly, the holy man obtained of God by his prayers, and Broichan suddenly recovered his health by drinking of water infused upon a little stone which S. Columba had blessed and sent to the king; and this stone having afterwards proved the instrument of many other miraculous cures, was preserved with great respect, and laid up in the king's treasure.

It was by this apostolical method of preaching, accompanied with miracles, by the admirable lives of S. Columba, of his disciples and of their successors, by the many monasteries settled by him in the bounds of the Scots and Picts, it was by these means, I say, accompanied by the grace of God, that the belief and practice of the doctrines of Christianity were established upon so solid a foundation among our ancestors, that whereas the

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 26.

^(b) Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 33.

A. D. 565. profession of it, particularly among the Picts, had been, till S. Columba's coming, as we have seen more than once, so unsteady and wavering, notwithstanding the preaching of S. Ninian, S. Kentigern, S. Gildas, and others, we shall find that, from henceforth, the Picts, as well as the Scots, persevered constantly in the profession of it without any considerable alteration.

XLVIII. We have already given an account of what we could find in ancient monuments of the lives and actions of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, both of them bishops, and of what concerned S. Gildas whilst he stayed in Britain, it now remains to finish what we have to add about him.

S. Gildas, after having laboured with great success, as hath been already observed,^(a) in the northern parts of Britain, he retired to Gaul, about A.D. 554, and settling in Little Brittany, he founded there a monastery at Ruysc. There assembling to him many disciples, he applied himself by word and example to form their hearts and manners to the strict maxims of the Gospel. His absence from Britain did not diminish his concern for it. But being sensibly touched with the calamities that had fallen upon the old Britons by the oppression of the Saxons, under which they had now groaned about one hundred years, and daily receiving new and more lamentable accounts of the state of Britain by religious persons that had fled out of the island, and taken shelter in his monastery, about ten years after he had settled in it, A.D. 564, he wrote, in the anguish of his mind, a short account of Britain, published^(b) under the title of the History of Gildas, or of Britain, in which he laments its ruin.

In which work it is no wonder that Gildas, being exulcerated by the cruelties exercised by the infidel Saxons against the ancient inhabitants of the island, and against their barbarous devastations and destruction of all its ancient monuments and ornaments sacred and profane, inveighs bitterly against them; nor is it any wonder to find Gildas equally exasperated against the Picts and the Scots, whose inroads and invasions had given occasion to the Britons to call in the Saxons to their aid: it is no wonder, I say, that Gildas, writing in this temper, expresses himself in the most bitter and satirical terms against the Picts and Scots, as well as against the Saxons. For though he was born at Alclud or Dumbarton, in that part of the north of Britain which hath been since conquered by the Scots, and

^(a) Supra, Book Second, V.

^(b) Edit. a Tho. Gale, A.D. 1691.

hath belonged many ages ago to the kingdom of Scotland, yet he was descended of the race of the Midland Britons, who took party with the rest of the Britons in their wars and divisions.

A. D. 565.

Gildas spared as little the inhabitants of the south of the island. in the invective he wrote against the British princes and churchmen of all orders, which is published under the title of the Epistle^(a) of Gildas (*Epistola Gildæ*), where he exposeth, in the most bitter and satirical expressions, their wickedness, lewdness, and sacrileges, as the cause of God's heavy judgments upon them.

It must have been probably after Gildas's coming into Gaul and settling at Ruysse that happened the invitation, mentioned in his Life, made him by Ainmire, King of Ireland, since the beginning of that king's reign is placed no sooner than A.D. 568. Some say, indeed, that Ainmire was only one of the four provincial kings of Ireland when he invited Gildas over to it: so his voyage to Ireland might in that case have happened before his coming over to settle in Gaul, which would agree better with the order in which the monk of Ruysse relates his life and actions. However that be, this author of his Life writes, that King Ainmire sent to represent to the holy Abbot Gildas, (who was at that time held in great veneration both in Britain and Ireland for his sanctity, wisdom, and learning), the great decay of piety and religion among the natives of Ireland, and entreated him to come over to them, and labour by his zeal and preaching towards a true reformation of their lives and manners, and a renewal of the spirit of Christianity in some parts of the island. I am very willing to think that this is all that was meant by King Ainmire's message to Gildas, though the author of his Life gives a much more tragical account of the state of Ireland, as may be seen in his own^(b) words.

The reason why I conceive the author's expressions to be hyperbolic and exaggerated beyond truth is, that it appears, by many good authorities,^(c) that in Gildas's age there were many holy bishops, abbots, and religious communities in Ireland; so the corruption and ignorance could not be so universal as the author of Gildas's Life describes them. But I

^(a) Edit. a Tho. Gale, A.D. 1691.

^(b) *Eo tempore regnabat Rex Americus per totam Hiberniam, qui et ipse misit ad Gildam rogans ut ad se veniret, promittens se ipsius doctrinis in omnibus obediturum, si veniens ecclesiasticum ordinem in suo regno restauraret: quia pene Catholicam fidem in ipsa insula omnes reliquerant, &c.* Vit. Gild. c. x. edit. Jo. Bosco.

^(c) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 471. Colgan, Vit. SS. Hibern. tom. i. p. 189, &c.

A. D. 571.

easily believe this author may be relied upon, where he informs that Gildas, assisted by King Ainmire's authority and liberality, erected in Ireland new monasteries or seminaries for educating youth in piety and letters, that growing up they might afterwards serve towards the renewing and improvement of piety and learning in that island. The author adds^(a) that Gildas's labours for the advancement of religion, not only in Ireland, but in Britain and other foreign countries, made his memory continue still in great veneration till the author's own time. However, Gildas, after having accomplished in Ireland the work to which he had been called, returned back to his monastery at Ruys, in Little Britanny, where, being daily more disgusted of the world, he retired to a solitary^(b) island called Horath, and after having received the holy Viaticum, he expired there amidst his disciples, upon the twenty-ninth of January, about A.D. 570.

XLIX. A.D. 571. The pious prince, Conal, King of the Scots, being deceased, was succeeded by his nephew, Aidan, son to King Gauran, who reigned thirty-four years, and was the sixth king of the Scots in Britain. The manner of his inauguration by the holy Abbot, S. Columba, is set down by Cumineus^(c) Albus and by S. Adamnan,^(d) both of them Abbots of Ycolmkill, in the following words. Whilst S. Columba happened to be on a time in Himba, one of the western islands of Scotland, one night, being ravished in spirit, there appeared to him an angel sent by God, holding in his hand the book containing the prayers and ceremonies of the Ordination or Inauguration of kings. The holy Abbot, receiving the book from the angel's hand, began to read in it, as he was commanded, but finding by it that it was enjoined to him to inaugurate Aidan king, and not Eoganan, his brother, he began to demur upon the divine order, because he had a predilection for Eoganan. Upon this hesitation, the angel, stretching out his hand, gave him a stripe with a whip, whereof the blue mark lasted upon his side all the days of his life, the angel, at same time, adding these words: Know for certain that I am sent from God with this book, to the end that, according to what thou hast read in it, thou inaugurate Aidan king, and if thou refuse to obey this order, I will strike thee again. The angel of the Lord appeared thus to S. Columba three nights

(a) Vit. Gild. ut supra.

(b) Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. I. p. 151.

(c) Vit. S. Columb. per Cumineum, c. v. apud Colgan, Trias Thaum. p. 321.

(d) Adamnan. Vit. S. Columb. lib. iii. c. 5.

one after another, with the book in his hand, and reiterated to him the command of the Lord to ordain or inaugurate Aidan king.

A. D. 571.

Wherefore the holy Abbot, in obedience to this order of God, passed over to the island Iona or Hy, and, Aidan coming thither also about the same time, the Saint proceeded to the ceremony of ordaining or inaugurating him king, as he had been commanded; and during the ceremony S. Columba foretold by a prophetic spirit what was to happen to his sons, his grand-children, and great-grand-children, and imposing his hands upon the King's head, he recited over him the prayers of ordination or blessing^(a) of kings. Cumineus Albus, says Adamnan, in the book which he wrote of the virtues of S. Columba, tells that the Saint addressed to Aidan the following admonition by spirit of prophecy, concerning himself, his posterity, and his kingdom: Believe without doubt, O Aidan, that none of your adversaries will be able to stand before you, until you wrong me, or the posterity of my family; wherefore recommend this to your children, that they may transmit the same order to their sons, their grand-sons, and to their posterity, lest, by hearkening to wicked counsel, they deserve that the sceptre of this kingdom be wrested out of their hands. For at whatever time they shall attack me or my relations in Ireland, the scourge which upon your account I have endured from the angel, shall be, by the hand of God, turned against them to their ruin, the heart of men shall be taken from them, and their enemies shall exceedingly prevail over them.

Thus Adamnan copying after Cumineus his predecessor, another of the abbots of Ycolmkill, who might have had this account from King Aidan himself, and without doubt he had it from those that lived with S. Columba and King Aidan, and from the records of the monastery. And Adamnan was so fully persuaded of the truth of this relation, that he adds as a thing publicly known at the time when he wrote, the accomplishment of a part of this prophecy, which happened to be fulfilled in his own time, under King Donald Breac, grand-son to King Aidan, as we shall see in its proper place.

Father Martene, a learned French Benedictine, in his book "*de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*," observes that this inauguration of King Aidan is the most ancient account that after all his searches he had met with of the

^(a) *Imponensque manum super caput ejus, ordinans benedixit.* Adamnan. Vit. S. Columb. lib. iii. c. 5.

^(b) Martene, de *Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, tom. iii. p. 183.

A. D. 571.

Benediction or Ordination of kings, which are the names that Adamnan gives this ceremony. But since he mentions also the sceptre of the kingdom given to King Aidan, we may, I conceive, conclude from it that the rest of the regalia, or royal ensigns, such as the crown, sword, &c., were also delivered to him in this solemnity, though they be not mentioned by Adamnan, no more than King Aidan's being seated upon the famous fatal stone, whereof all our writers make mention as the most ancient ceremony used at the inauguration of our kings; so I see no reason why I might not have made use of the word Coronation in setting down this solemnity, but I thought best to keep scrupulously to Adamnan's own terms of Benediction and Ordination. Martene observes^(a) also, that by this relation of S. Adamnan, it appears that this ceremony of inaugurating their kings was not a new custom, but an usual one among the Scots, since there was a proper ceremonial containing the forms of prayers and benedictions to be used in such solemnities. This ceremonial book is called by Adamnan, *Liber Vitreus*, because, perhaps, the cover of it was encrusted with glass or crystal.

As to S. Columba's officiating in this solemnity, and not a bishop, besides that the ceremony of coronation, or inaugurating kings, is not a function to which the episcopal Character is absolutely necessary, as it is to that of ordination of priests and bishops; we see that, in the present case, there was an express appointment and order of Almighty God to S. Columba for performing this solemn inauguration. And, besides, the eminent sanctity of his life which gained to him the respect and veneration of the Scots of all degrees; his being favoured beyond all those of his time, even above those of a more sublime Character, with the gift of prophecy and miracles, gave him the preference in performing a ceremony to which no other Character was required than that of a priest and an abbot, and especially of an Abbot-superior of all the Scottish and Pictish monasteries, who had so extraordinary a pre-eminence, as we have seen, in all religious matters in Scotland. But it was not for want of bishops in our northern parts that S. Columba was preferred in this august ceremony, for, besides others, S. Mungo or Kentigern, Bishop of Glasgow, was then near those parts, and, according to Joceline^(b) in his Life, had about this time a solemn meeting

^(a) Martene, de *Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, tom. iii. p. 183.

^(b) Jocelin. *Vita S. Kentigern*. MS. [Vit. Kent. c. xxxix.] Capgrav. fol. 211.

with S. Columba, each of them attended by their religious disciples. Our modern^(a) writers say that this meeting was at Dunkeld. A. D. 571.

L. King Aidan, from whom all our kings do lineally descend, being thus by the express order of Heaven inaugurated king of the Scots by S. Columba, his veneration for this holy abbot, and his confidence in him daily increasing, used frequently to resort to Ycolmkill to consult him, and entertain him upon all more important affairs upon the state of the kingdom and of the royal family. Hence it happened upon a time that King Aidan desirous to know which of his three eldest sons should survive and succeed him, and knowing that S. Columba was endued with the gift of prophecy, presented to him the young princes, his three eldest sons, Arthur, Eochod-find, and Domangard, in order to know which of them would live to be his successor after his death. Adamnan says it was S. Columba that asked that question at the king, who answering that he knew not, S. Columba replied: None^(b) of these three will live to succeed you, for they will be each one killed in battle in your own time; but if you have any younger sons let them be brought to me, and he that^(c) the Lord hath chosen for king after you will instantly come running to me, and throw himself into my arms.

Accordingly,^(d) the king having caused introduce his younger sons, as the holy man desired, Eochod-buyd, the eldest of them, came instantly of his own motion, running towards S. Columba, and leaned his head upon his bosom. The holy man, embracing the child and blessing him, spoke thus to the king his father: This child will survive you, and succeed to you in the kingdom, and his sons will reign after him. All this prophecy, says Adamnan, was exactly fulfilled in its own time; for some years after this Arthur and Eochod-find were killed in the battle called by Adamnan *prælium Miatorum*. Domangard was killed in a battle against the Saxons, and Eochod-buyd succeeded to his father in the kingdom.

This Eochod-buyd, called by our modern writers Eugene the Fourth, was, as we see, by a special order of God king of the Scots, as Aidan his father had also been appointed in the same manner, each of them by a new and miraculous title accumulated to that of their birth-right and hereditary

^(a) Boeth. Hist. fol. 167.

^(b) Adamnan, lib. i. c. 9.

^(c) Quem ex eis elegerit Dominus.....

^(d) Adamnan. *ibid.*

A. D. 571. succession. It is, indeed, by the order of God that all kings reign, but we meet with very few examples in history so well documented as this, under the New Testament of kings, thus chosen and placed upon the throne by an express and immediate order of God outwardly manifested. However this special favour of God towards two of our kings, Aidan and Eochod, from whom all our kings are descended in a direct line, being a sensible manifestation of the Divine protection and care of them and of their royal race, could not fail to inspire all true Scotsmen, their subjects, a more than ordinary respect for their kings, and oblige them to look upon their persons as sacred in a most singular manner.

LI. It was during King Aidan's reign that happened the death of the holy abbot S. Brendan,^(a) an intimate friend of S. Columba, whose happy passage to heaven amidst the choirs of angels being revealed to him in his island, he caused instantly get all ready for celebrating a^(b) solemn mass for him. Adamnan gives us other examples of S. Columba's practising this ancient usage of the Catholic Church of all ages, in celebrating himself, or causing celebrate in his monastery,^(c) the sacred mysteries, immediately upon his being advertised, either by revelation or by other information, of the death of any of his friends.

Another Saint of the name of Brendan, famous for his pilgrimages, lived about these times. Of this last Brendan, John of Tinmouth in his Life, gives long incredible stories. But however fabulous that legend may be, I find by Adamnan's relations^(d) that in those days many Scottish and Irish devout men were so inclined to solitude and forsaking the world, that they made long voyages at sea to find out the most remote and desert islands in the north, for setting up monasteries in them. Thence came the Columbite monasteries of Campo-Lunghe,^(e) Ardchain,^(f) and others in the Shetland Islands (in *Ethica terra*) designed chiefly for the retreats of penitents. To these houses S. Columba used to send penitents,^(g) after hearing their confession, and enjoining them penitential exercises for a number of years, in proportion of their sins, to be performed under the direction of the Superior

(a) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 11.

(b) Missarum Solemnia. Ibid.

(c) Adamnan. lib. iii. cc. 12, 23.

(d) Ibid. lib. i. cc. 6, 20. lib. ii. c. 42.

(e) Ibid. lib. i. c. 30, 41.

(f) Ibid. lib. i. c. 36.

(g) Ibid. lib. i. c. 30. lib. ii. c. 39.

of the monastery where they retired. Sometimes for great or scandalous ^(a) crimes he obliged them to leave their country, or the place where the scandal had happened. A. D. 571.

LIII. But we have a very distinct account of the usage established by S. Columba, conformable to the canons, in the imposition of penance, and reconciliation of penitents, set down by Adamnan in his relation of the penitent Libranus, whereof I shall give here the substance, because by it we may learn what was the practice in use among the Scots in ancient times concerning the administration of the sacrament of penance.

Libranus, born in Connaught in Ireland, being touched with the spirit of penance, came over to Ycolmkill to consult S. Columba upon the state of his conscience, and receive from him the order and measure of penance he was to perform to obtain mercy of God, and the grace of reconciliation. After giving account of himself to the holy abbot, and informing him of the resolution he had taken to retire into a monastery, and there endure whatever penitential labours and mortifications should be enjoined him to expiate his sins;^(b) he then without delay made to the holy man a particular confession of all his sins upon his knees, and promised to accomplish the laws and order of penance which he should enjoin him, which were as follows: That he should retire^(c) to the monastery of Campo-Lunghe in Shetland (whereof his chief disciple, Baitheneus, was Superior) and there pass seven years in penitential exercises, and at the end of that time he should return back to him to Ycolmkill during Lent time, in order to be reconciled, admitted to the altar, and receive the holy Eucharist at Easter. All which being conformable to the common discipline of penance practised in the Church of that age, informs us that it was in vigour as yet in our country, as well as among the other Christians of the Occident. Adamnan informs us that Libranus after his seven years' penance returning to Ycolmkill, found S. Columba alive, as he had foretold, and was by him reconciled to the holy altar, and received the communion.

From the same spirit of retreat or penance the long navigations to the

^(a) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 22.

^(b) Eadem hora omnia sua confessus peccata, leges penitentiae flexis in terram genibus, se impleturum promisit. Cui Sanctus.....septennem debes in Ethica penitentiam explere terra.....post septennorum.....annorum expletionem, diebus ad me huc quadragesimalibus venies, et in paschali solemnitate ad altarium accedas, et Eucharistiam sumas. Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 39.

^(c) Adamnan. lib. i. cc. 19, 30.

A. D. 584.

north, of Cormac and other holy men took their rise. In one^(a) of S. Cormac's voyages, S. Columba, who happened to be at the time at the court of Brudeus, King of the Picts, where the prince of the Orkney-isles was also present, prayed King Brudeus to recommend Cormac and his other monks to this prince of the Orkneys (whose pledges as being a vassal of King Brudeus this king had in his hands), and to take care that they were well used, in case they should come to these islands; as they happened effectually to come, and were accordingly delivered from imminent danger in consequence of King Brudeus's recommendation. By this it appears that the prince of the Orkneys was subject and tributary to the king of the Picts, and that the Pictish dominions extended to the utmost bounds of the north of Britain and adjacent islands.

LIII. A.D. 584, is placed the battle of Stanmore,^(b) otherwise called Fethenlegh, betwixt the Britons, assisted by the Scots, against the Saxons. When Malgo, king of the Britons, being attacked by Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons, sent to require aid from King Aidan, according to the league that was betwixt them, Fordun says that King Aidan sent forces to the assistance of the Britons, under the command of his son Griffin (of whom we have no where else any account), and of Brendin, lord of the Isle of Man; that these marching together with the Britons against Ceaulin, had at first the advantage, but that in the second engagement they were routed with a great slaughter.

LIV. A.D. 586, died Brudeus son of Meilochon, King of the Picts. Bede^(c) gives him the title of a most powerful king *rex potentissimus*, the same title that he and other English writers give to those of the Saxon kings during the Heptarchy, whom their later writers call monarchs of the English, because that, besides their paternal kingdom, they obtained by their great power and victories a pre-eminence over their neighbouring princes. So that though we have no certain ancient account of the warlike actions of this King Brudeus, we may very reasonably conclude from this high title, of a most powerful king, given to him by the English writers, that he not only possessed in full freedom all the ancient demesnes of the Pictish kingdom, from Orkney to the frith of Forth, but that he also recovered the Pictish possessions to the south of these friths, which the Saxons had over-

(a) Adamnan. lib. i. cc. 6, 20. lib. ii. c. 42.

(b) Fordun, lib. iii. c. 28. Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 296.

(c) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

run or taken possession of. King Brudeus died the thirtieth year of his reign. Adamnan relates a remarkable occurrence that happened at his death. We have already^(a) made mention of a little white stone, blessed by S. Columba, which, because of the miraculous cures performed by drinking of water infused upon it, was kept as a precious jewel in the treasure of the Pictish kings. He adds that when the time appointed by God for the death of any sick person was come, there was no finding this stone; that, accordingly, upon the day of King Brudeus's death, the stone being sought for with the utmost diligence in the ordinary place where it had been carefully laid up, it could not be found.

King Brudeus was succeeded in the throne by Gartnaich or Garnard, son of Domilch or Domnath, the fiftieth king of the Picts, who reigned eleven years. To this King Garnard is ascribed by Fordun^(b) the foundation of the church of Abernethy. We have^(c) a story full of anachronisms concerning this foundation of Abernethy by King Garnard in the legend of Mazota Virgin (December 22). Boece,^(d) also, in his History, gives an account of the foundation of a convent of nuns (whereof S. Mazota was one of the chief), made at Abernethy by King Garnard. In fine, the Register^(e) of St. Andrews attributes the foundation of Abernethy to Necton or Naitan, successor to Gartnaich, whereas we have elsewhere^(f) seen from the Pictish Chronicle that the first founder of the church of Abernethy was King Nectan or Naitan, the son of Irb or Erp, and thirty-ninth king of the Picts.

Now, to discover the truth, or what seems more likely, amidst so different accounts, we must observe that the first church of Abernethy, founded by King Naitan I., having no doubt been ruined during the wars, or decayed by length of time, it cannot be doubted but that among the many monasteries founded or restored by S. Columba, or by the Pictish kings at his exhortation, one of the chief of them, next to that of Ycolmkill, was settled at Abernethy (the principal seat of the kings and of the bishops of the Picts), in the place where King Naitan I. had settled the first church above one hundred years before, as we have seen, that this establishment of the church of Abernethy, begun, perhaps, by King Brudeus after his conversion and baptism, was perfected under his successor

(a) Supra, Book Second, XLVII.

(b) Breviar. Aberdon. ad 22 Decem.

(c) Boeth. Hist. fol. 180, 181.

(d) Appendix to Crit. Essay, num. v.

(e) Ibid. num. ii.

A. D. 586. Garnait, and a monastery erected and Columbite Religious settled in it, as in all the other monasteries during S. Columba's time; that King Nectan or Naitan, the second of that name, and fifty-first King of the Picts, successor to King Garnait, made an addition to this monastery, and that some other of the Pictish kings founded also a monastery of Religious virgins, among whom S. Mazota was the most eminent for sanctity. But this royal city of the Picts being (as Boece relates) destroyed at the devastation of the Pictish kingdom by King Kenneth Mac-Alpin, their records also, and historical monuments, had the same fate, and nothing escaped that we know of, but such extracts of them as that we have given in the Appendix to the Critical Essay.

From all this it hath happened, that posterior writers, for want of ancient records, having nothing but vulgar traditions to guide them, fell into contradictions and anachronisms concerning the first author and time of the foundation of Abernethy. The author of St. Andrews Register, knowing apparently nothing of King Nectan I. and little of the Christianity of the Picts before S. Columba, and knowing only by a popular tradition that the church of Abernethy was founded by a Pictish king called Nectan, attributed the foundation of it to Nectan II. after the coming of S. Columba. Fordun, knowing by tradition that this church and monastery was brought to perfection, and the first Columbitess settled in it, during the reign of King Garnart or Garnard, made him^(a) the first and chief founder of it. And Boece, following Fordun as to the foundation of this church, and observing that there had also been there a monastery of virgins, whereof Mazota, and nine others, were the most eminent, and their memory preserved in the calendars and offices of the Church, and celebrated upon the twenty-second December, he attributed also to King Garnard the foundation of this monastery of virgins.

A.D. 588. According to the Ulster Annals, cited by Ussher,^(b) happened the Conversion of King Constantine to the Lord, "*conversio Constantini ad Dominum*," as these Annals express it. It is reported that this was that Constantine, King of Cornwall (Cornubiæ) against whom Gildas makes a bitter invective, as a cruel tyrant, exhorting him, withal, to do penance: which sound advice Constantine having afterwards embraced, abandoned his kingdom, retired to Ireland, and embraced the monastic

^(a) Fordun, edit. Hearn. p. 299.

^(b) Ussher, Ant. Brit. in Indice Chron. p. 533.

state, that being afterwards advanced to Orders, though contrary to the ecclesiastical discipline of those ages, he went thence over to Scotland, and preached among the Scots and Picts, says Fordun, and erected a monastery at Govan, and converted many in Kintyre, where it is said he suffered martyrdom by the hands of some wicked men. His memory was honoured in the Church of Scotland upon the eleventh of March.

A. D. 588.

Fordun relates that this Constantine came to Scotland along with S. Columba in his return from one of his voyages to Ireland, whither he passed over sometimes to visit his monasteries in that kingdom. One of the most memorable voyages which he made to Ireland, was A.D. 586, in company of King Aidan, to an Assembly holden at Drumcheat,^(a) in Ireland, at which were present with King Aidan and S. Columba, Aidus, son of Ainmire, King of Ireland, and many other great men, bishops and abbots of both kingdoms, for settling their affairs. Adamnan sets down an account which he had well attested by those that were present, of many miracles wrought during this voyage by S. Columba, upon several persons, either by touching them with his hand, by sprinkling holy water upon them, by drinking water infused upon bread blessed by the Saint, by touching the hem of his garment, &c.

It was about the same time that S. Columban, Abbot, so famous afterwards for the monasteries he founded in France and Italy, came over from Ireland, and, it is like, in S. Columba's company, upon his return to Britain after the Assembly of Drumcheat. Columbanus had been bred up in the great monastery of Bangor, in Ireland, governed by S. Comgall, otherwise called Faustus, a faithful disciple of our S. Columba, as we are informed by Notker,^(b) a monk of the monastery of S. Gall. This S. Gall was one of the twelve disciples whom S. Columban, as it was usual in those days, brought along with him, first to the north of Britain, no doubt to Yoolmkill, and from thence to France, where being well received by Childebart II., King of Austrasia, he established^(c) the monasteries of Anegray, Luxeu, and others, and gave them a rule that he had brought with him, the same that was in use at Bangor, settled there by S. Comgall, who, as Notker informed us, having been a disciple of our S. Columba, it is like the rule was much the same in substance in both these monasteries of

^(a) Adamnan. lib. i. cc. 10, 11, 49, 50; lib. ii. c. 6.

^(b) Notker Balbulus, Martyrolog. 9 Jun.

^(c) Jonas, in Vita S. Columbani, edit. a P. Fleming inter Opera Columbani.

A. D. 592. Bangor and Ycolmkill. This rule^(a) of S. Columban is still extant. S. Columban, after twenty years' abode in Austrasia, Burgundy, &c., where he had to suffer not only upon account of his zeal against the vices of all states of men, but for his attachment to his Irish usages, particularly in the celebration of Easter, he was at last forced to leave that country by Theodoric, King of Austrasia, at the instigation of the wicked Queen Brunehild, and, after some years of an unsettled life, he retired at last into Lombardy, where he established the abbey of Bobbio, and there died A.D. 615.

I.V. A.D. 592, fell out the battle of Wodenburch, as it is called by Fordun,^(b) betwixt Ceaulin, King of the West Saxons, and Aidan, King of the Scots, come to the assistance of the Britons, to whom also many Saxons had joined against this Ceaulin, who, by his tyranny, had rendered himself odious to all the nations around him. Adamnan calls this battle, *prælium Miatorum*, for *Mæatarum* perhaps, because it is like a part of the British troops in King Aidan's army were of those Midland Britons, called formerly *Mæatæ*. However, Adamnan, upon occasion of this battle, gives a new instance of S. Columba's prophetic spirit, as well as of his zeal^(c) and that of his Religious disciples in Ycolmkill, for the prosperity of Aidan their sovereign. S. Columba being, at the hour this battle was given, in his monastery of Ycolmkill, called out of a sudden to Dermitius, his servant, to run quickly and toll the bell; upon hearing the sound, all his Religious men convened in haste to the church, with the holy man at their head, where, falling on his knees, he said to them, Let us all earnestly pray to God for this people and for King Aidan, for at this very hour they are engaged in battle with their enemies. And after some space of time, going out of the oratory, and looking up to the heavens, he said, Now the enemies are put to flight, and King Aidan hath got the victory, adding withal that it was a doleful victory for him, because, in the battle, two of his sons, Arthur and Eochod-find, were killed, as the Saint had foretold^(d) long before; at the same time he told them the precise number of those that were slain in Aidan's army, that is three hundred and three men. The slaughter was incomparably greater on Ceaulin's side, his army quite routed,

^(a) Jonas, in Vita S. Columbani, edit. a P. Fleming inter Opera Columbani.

^(b) Fordun, lib. iii. c. 29.

^(c) Adamnan, lib. I. c. 8.

^(d) Ibid. lib. i. c. 9.

himself put to flight, and so dispirited that he soon after died denuded of all. A. D. 597.

The year 597 was very memorable for the great events that happened in it. And first, the death of Garnait, son of Domeleh, King of the Picts, in the eleventh year of his reign. His name was famous in following ages by the restoration, as we have observed, or new foundation, of the ancient church and monastery of Abernethy, and his settling in it, in conjunction with S. Columba, the Religious Columbites, so well known in posterior ages by the name of Keledees, whereof this monastery was, next to Ycolmkill, as it were, the mother-house from which several colonies were derived, to St. Andrews, and several other places of Scotland. King Garnait was succeeded by Nectan, son or nephew of Irb or Erp; he was the fifty-first king of the Picts, and reigned twenty years. We have already observed the mistake of the abstract of the Register of St. Andrews, which attributes to this King Nectan the foundation of the church of Abernethy, which had been made by King Nectan I. above one hundred years before.

LVI. But nothing rendered this year so remarkable among the Scots and the Picts as the death of the great S. Columba. We have a full relation of the happy passage of this holy man from S. Adamnan, with a detail of circumstances, which well deserves a place in this work, not only because of the edifying particulars which it contains, but because all that concerns this apostolical man, especially this last period of his mortal life, ought to be very precious to our countrymen, who have so great obligations to him, not only for his labours in the conversion of the northern Picts, from whom so many of the inhabitants of Scotland are descended, but for his settling Christianity on a more lasting foot, even among the Scots.

Adamnan begins the relation of S. Columba's death by the account of a vision that the Saint had, A.D. 593, in which^(a) it was manifested to him that Almighty God, moved by the prayers of many Churches, had resolved to prolong his life for four years beyond the time at which the Saint had hoped to leave this world; after which, Adamnan continues thus: The term^(b) of these four years drawing nigh in the month of May, the holy man going out one day in a waggon (because of his age and weakness,) to visit the brethren that were at work in a field in the western part of the island, he said to them, I had an earnest desire to go to our Saviour upon Easter-

^(a) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 22. edit. Colgan.

^(b) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 23.

A. D. 597.

day last, but because I would not have the joy of that day changed into mourning, I chose to defer my departure from this world a little longer. These words having grieved his disciples, he began to encourage them with comfortable discourses, and standing upon an eminence, turning his face towards the east, he lifted up his hand and blessed all this our island, says Adamnan, adding, that from that time forward no viperous animal should hurt either man or beast in it, as long as the inhabitants should be careful to observe the commands of Christ.

On Saturday^(a) following, the holy man accompanied with his beloved servant Dermitius, went out to bless a barn, and in coming back to the monastery he stopt in the way, and sat down to rest him at a Cross^(b) of stone, which, says Adamnan, is yet to be seen set up at the side of the way. This stone Cross had certainly been erected by S. Columba's own order, and is an evident proof of the ancient usage among the Scottish Christians, (taught them above eleven hundred years ago by S. Columba himself,) of planting Crosses of stone or wood upon the highways, or in the most conspicuous places, thereby to excite frequently the love and devotion of the Faithful to their Redeemer, by that sensible memorial adapted to the meanest capacities, of his unbounded love for them; and this usage was propagated through the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts, in proportion as Christianity itself was extended. Accordingly there are yet to be met with in all places of Scotland, the rubbish or ruins and names of Crosses demolished at or since the new Reformation by men, to say no more, who had certainly a quite different spirit and taste of devotion from that of S. Columba, and of the other saints who planted or promoted Christianity in our country, who, conformably to the usage of the rest of the Christian world in ancient times, made a part of their devotion consist in renewing frequently, by sensible signs, the memory of our Lord's Passion in the hearts of the Christian people. Adamnan makes mention of two other Crosses^(c) set up in Ycolmkill in S. Columba's own time, and of many miracles wrought by him by the sign^(d) of the Cross.

As the Saint returned to the monastery^(e) accompanied by his beloved servant Dermitius, after enjoining secrecy to him, he told him that he was

^(a) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 23.

^(b) Ibid.

^(c) Ibid. lib. i. c. 45.

^(d) Ibid. lib. ii. cc. 16, 27, 29, &c.

^(e) Ibid. lib. iii. c. 23.

to depart out of this world that same night at midnight; and going up to another little eminence^(a) that overlooked the monastery, and standing on the top of it, he lifted up his hands and blessed the monastery, adding: To this place, however despicable and mean it now appears, not only the kings of the Scots with all their people, but kings also of foreign nations with their subjects, shall pay great honour and respect, and the holy men of other Churches will hold it in no small veneration.

A. D. 597.

Being come back to the monastery^(b) he sat down in his cell, and continued to transcribe a Psalm-book which he had begun, and being come to this verse of the thirty-third Psalm, "They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing," there, says he, I must stop at the end of this page, let Baitheneus continue on to write what follows. This last verse which the Saint copied agreed perfectly well to him, since he shall never be deprived of the eternal good things of heaven where he is entered; and the verse following: "Come my children and hearken to me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord," agrees no less well to his successor Baitheneus, whom he left for spiritual master to his children, and who succeeded him not only in the office of teaching but also of writing.

After this the Saint entered the church^(c) to assist at the canonical Office of the first vespers of Sunday, and then returned to his cell, and there laid himself upon his bed, where, instead of straw, he had a bare stone, and instead of a bolster or pillow another stone, which at present, says Adamnan, stands for a title as a monument at his sepulchre. In that posture, none being present but his said beloved servant, he gave by him his last commands to his disciples, saying, I commend to you, my dear children, these my last words: Entertain peace and unfeigned mutual charity one with another, which if you observe according to the example of the holy fathers, God, the comforter of the good, will assist you, and I being present with Him will intercede for you, and He will abundantly bestow upon you, not only the necessities of this life, but the eternal happiness in the next, which is prepared for those that observe his commandments.

After which^(d) words, his last happy hour approaching, he was silent, and spoke no more; but when the bell rang at midnight for the nocturnal

(a) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 23.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

A. D. 597. Office, he arose in haste, and went to the church, where being arrived sooner than the rest, and going in all alone, he fell upon his knees near the altar. Dermitius, his servant, following more slowly, saw at a distance all the church illustrated with an angelic splendour, which at his approach instantly disappeared. This splendour was also seen at a distance by others of the brethren. Dermitius, therefore, entering the church, called out to the Saint with a mournful voice, O Father, where are you? and groping up and down in the dark, he found him lying prostrate before the altar, and lifting him up a little, and sitting down by him, he laid his blessed head in his bosom; meantime all the brethren came in with lights, and seeing their holy Father ready to expire, began to lament. We were told by some that were there present, that a little before he expired he opened his eyes and looked about with a joyful countenance, beholding the holy angels that came to fetch him.

Meantime Dermitius lifted up his blessed hand, that he might give his last blessing to his brethren assembled about him in the choir, and the holy man himself endeavoured, as he was able, by the motion of his hand to give them his blessing, since he could not pronounce it by the voice of his mouth, and after giving them in this manner his sacred blessing, he instantly yielded up his happy soul. The angelical vision left such a cheerfulness remaining in his countenance, that it appeared after his death rather the pleasant aspect of one asleep, than the ghastly face of a dead man. Meantime all the church resounded with the doleful lamentations of his Religious disciples. The canonical^(a) Office of the nocturns being finished, his sacred body was carried back from the church to his cell, accompanied by the holy symphony of Psalms, and his obsequies were, according to custom, solemnly celebrated three days and three nights, which being spent in Divine praises, the body of our blessed Patron was wrapt in fine linen, laid into a coffin prepared for that end, and buried with great veneration, there to remain till it arise in a glorious and eternal brightness.

S. Columba died, as Bede^(b) informs us, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and, as Adamnan^(c) relates, the thirty-fourth year after his coming to Britain, which happened, as we have seen, A.D. 563; so his death fell out in the year 597. It is the constant tradition and belief of the inhabitants of Ycolmkill and of the neighbourhood at this day, that S. Columba's

^(a) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 23.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

^(c) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 22.

body lies still in this island, being hidden by pious people, at the time of the new Reformation, in some secure and private place in or about the church, as it used frequently to be in former ages during the ravages of the infidel Danes; and not only the inhabitants of Ycolmkill, and those of all our Western Islands, and of all the Highlands in general, but all the Scots look upon the pretended translation of S. Columba's body to Ireland as fabulous.

A. D. 597.

LVII. And, indeed, to prove the Irish story of this translation a fable in its origin, it might suffice to set it down such as the Irish writers, and among them the diligent Colgan^(a) relates it from the best vouchers that he could find, which in short is thus: That the shrine of S. Columba being taken up in Ycolmkill by the Danish pirates, and they finding instead of the treasure they looked for, nothing but dust and bones, threw it into the sea, and that it swimm'd miraculously from Ycolmkill, over the sea, to Down in Ireland, which is above one hundred miles; and Colgan tells us elsewhere^(b) that this pretended translation or transportation happened A.D. 857. He gives for author of the story of this translation, one Berchanus, but what he was or when he lived he could find nothing certain. The first known authors that mention this translation are Giraldus Cambrensis^(c) and Roger Hoveden^(d) who wrote in the twelfth age, and say that A.D. 1177, the bodies of S. Patrick, S. Brigid, and of S. Columba, were by revelation discovered at Down, but without giving any account how S. Columba's body was brought thither. That there was a discovery made about A.D. 1177 of three Saints' bodies at Down, and that one of them was supposed to be called S. Columba, I shall not contest, since it is related by the two foresaid writers, Giraldus and Hoveden, but there being many Irish saints of the name of Columba or Columban, which is the same, there is no doubt but the body found at Down was of some other S. Columba, supposing one of the three found at Down bore that name, which depends upon the credit of that revelation.

For as to our S. Columba, Apostle of the Northern Picts, besides the uniform uninterrupted tradition and persuasion of the inhabitants of Ycolmkill, and of all the Scots of these parts, that his relics or body lies as yet in

(a) Colgan. Trias Thaum. p. 446.

(b) Colgan. *ibid.* p. 500.

(c) Giral. Cambren. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. iii. c. 18.

(d) Rog. Hoveden, Chron. ad A.D. 1177.

A. D. 597. that island, it is attested by a series of authentic testimonies in every age, from the time of his death till the thirteenth or fourteenth age and downwards, that is both before and after the year 875, in which this pretended translation of S. Columba's relics to Ireland is placed by Colgan.

The testimonies of Adamnan^(a) and Bede^(b) put it out of doubt that he was buried in Ycolmkill, and that his body reposed still in that island in the seventh and eighth age, when they wrote. S. Adamnan's testimony is remarkable in this, that he says S. Columba's body was to repose there till the general Resurrection. In the ninth age, and after the union of the Scottish and the Pictish kingdoms by Kenneth Mac-Alpin, an ancient^(c) Chronicle attests that the same King Kenneth, apparently in thanksgiving to God for the success of his arms, caused erect a new church to S. Columba, and solemnly translated his relics to it. This was, no doubt, a church of a more stately fabric, built in the same island to the memory of the common Patron of the two united kingdoms. This translation hath been made with great solemnity, in the presence, it is like, of the king, and all the clergy and great men of the kingdom, as it was usual in that age, and is therefore set down in this Chronicle as a remarkable occurrence. In the same ninth age, Walafrid Strabo, in his account of the martyrdom of S. Blathmac, Abbot of Ycolmkill, informs us that S. Blathmac, upon the news or apprehension of an invasion of the Danes, took care to transport the shrine of S. Columba, and laid it under ground^(d) in a secure place; this invasion happened, according to Colgan, A.D. 823. In the tenth age, Notkerus^(e) Balbulus, in his Martyrology, tells us that S. Columba rested, that is, his body reposed still and was preserved in Ycolmkill. In the end of the tenth age, or beginning^(f) of the eleventh, it is related in the Life of S. Cadroe, a Scotsman, that his parents, to obtain a son, visited S. Columba's relics in Ycolmkill, and obtained by his intercession the effect of their prayers. It

^(a) (S. Columbae corpus in Iona) debita humatur cum veneratione in luminosa et eternali resurrecturum claritate. Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 23.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

^(c) Septimo anno Regni sui (Kinadius Rex Alpini filius) reliquias S. Columbae transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit. Chron. Regg. Scotor. Crit. Essay. p. 783.

^(d) Insula Pictorum quædam monstratur in oris,
Fluctivago suspensa salo cognominis Eo (i. e. Y)
Qua sanctus Domini requiescit carne Columba.

Walafrid. Strabo, sec. iii. Benedict. parte 2^{da}, p. 439. [Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum in Scotia; Vita Blathmaicæ, p. 461.]

^(e) Notker. Balbul. Martyrolog. ad 9 Jun.

^(f) Ex Vita S. Cadroes, ad 6 Martii, apud Bolandian. Acta. Sanctor.

was,^(a) out of respect to his relics, preserved in Ycolmkill that, in the same eleventh age, S. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, spouse to King Malcolm Keanmore, being informed that the monastery of Ycolmkill was, by length of time and invasions of enemies, almost ruined, among other works of piety, caused repair the church and monastery, and assign sufficient revenues to the religious inhabitants, as Ordericus Vitalis relates in his Chronicle.

A. D. 597.

In the twelfth age, Henry of Huntingdon^(b) informs us that the relics of S. Columba were still in Ycolmkill. Matthew Paris^(c) another English writer, upon occasion of the death of Alexander II., A.D. 1249, assures us that the body of S. Columba rested still and was honoured (*jacet et honoratur*) in Ycolmkill. In the same^(d) age, the same fact is attested by Simon or Simeon Monk, who transcribed S. Columba's Life by order of one of our King Alexanders, and of William, Abbot of Ycolmkill, and added verses in the honour of the Saint, whereof Ussher gives an extract, and which I copied out at length from the Cotton MSS., written about 400 years ago, and may insert them in the appendix to this work. And this I hope will suffice to satisfy all impartial people that the story of the translation of S. Columba's relics to Down in Ireland is fabulous, and that they still remain in Ycolmkill, hidden in some unknown place, till it please Almighty God in his own time to manifest them, in order to resuscitate or renew the faith and fervour of the good people of these parts, and of all Scotsmen that retain a due respect for the memory of this great Saint.

LVIII.—But to show the veneration paid to S. Columba, as well in foreign countries as at home, I shall add here the conclusion of Adamnan's three books of his Life.

The reader,^(e) says Adamnan, cannot but have observed upon reading of these three books the great sanctity of this venerable prelate; how many apparitions and visitations of angels were made to him, the gift of prophecy, that of miracles, how often even during his mortal life he happened to be all surrounded with heavenly brightness, which continues till this day to illustrate the place where he lies, buried, and hath been seen by some choice persons, and this favour was moreover granted to this

^(a) Orderic. Vitalis, in Chron. p. 702, inter Scriptores Normanniæ.

^(b) Hen. Huntingdun. Hist. lib. iii. fol. 190.

^(c) Math. Par. Hist. Ang. p. 516.

^(d) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 165.—MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, VIII. D.

^(e) Adamnan. lib. iii. c. 24.

- A. D. 597.

blessed man, that though he lived in this little remote island in the extremity of the British ocean, his name and reputation are spread, and his sanctity honoured, not only through all Britain and Ireland, but even through Spain and Gaul, and the renown of his sanctity hath also penetrated beyond the Appenine Hills into Italy, and into the city of Rome itself, the head and chief of all other cities.

THE
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* * * * *

ALL this considered, I hope no impartial learned man will seriously call in doubt, that the Episcopacy of the Scots in Ireland and Britain, as well as that of the Britons, was acknowledged in these times by the Apostolical See and by other foreign Churches.

The chief differences betwixt the Roman and other Churches abroad, and those of the old Britons and Scots of Britain and Ireland followed by the Picts, were about the time of the celebration of Easter, of which we have more than once given account already. The heats were greater about these very times than ever before concerning that question among the Scots in Ireland. The letter above mentioned of Laurence, Archbishop of Canterbury, and more yet that of Pope Honorius had made impressions upon them, and engaged some of them to make a serious study of the different calculations and decrees of the Councils for the regulation of Easter; others had travelled to Rome, and through other foreign Churches to observe their usages in this important point of discipline. At last a Synod was assembled at a place called Leni or Leighlin in Ireland, where, after great debates, they were divided into two parties, the one headed by Lasrean, Abbot of the place, who had lately come from Rome and had learned there and in other Churches abroad, the canonical manner of celebrating Easter according to the calculation or reformation made by Dionysius Exiguus, and Lasrean was followed in this by the Scots of the south of Ireland. The other party adhered to Finten otherwise Munni, esteemed a person of great sanctity, and in this division he was followed by the Scots of the north of

A. D. 636. Ireland, and all those of Britain, as also by the Picts, who all of them as well as the old Britons persisted in their old usages. But one of the chief sticklers for the old usages was Segenius, Abbot of Ycolmkill, who took in very ill part the conduct of some of his friends in Ireland who had abandoned the ancient usage of the Scots (which had been followed by S. Columba and all his monasteries), and had embraced the new calculation of Easter with the Scots of the south of Ireland and Churches abroad.

To appease Segenius and his disciples, one Cumian a learned man who had made a particular study of this controversy, endeavoured in a long letter to this Abbot to justify from Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and from the general practice of Churches abroad, the alteration lately made among the southern Scots in Ireland, and their conforming to the manner of the celebration of Easter as observed in the Church of Rome and foreign parts. This letter is set down by Ussher in his Collection of Irish Letters.

The division still continuing among the Scots gave occasion to some of the Scottish bishops and clergy to send a deputation to Rome with a letter to Pope Severin, about A.D. 640. But he dying after two months pontificate the letter was answered during the vacancy by John, elected Pope, and and other chief Prelates of the Church of Rome, and addressed to the bishops and clergy of the Scots in the tenor indicated, and which may be seen at more length in Bede.⁽¹⁾

Meantime Kineoch King of the Picts dying, A.D. 639, had been succeeded by Garnard, son of Wide, alias Fothe, their fifty-third king, who reigned four years.

A.D. 639. Ferchard I. King of the Scots, first of the name, died after a reign of sixteen years, and was buried with his ancestors in Ycolmkill. We have already discussed the fable invented by the Veremundian impostors concerning him. He had for his successor his brother Donald, the first of that name (whom our modern writers, reckoning their Veremundian kings, call Donald the Fourth.) He was surnamed Breac, that is, speckled, and reigned fourteen years. As much as Boece and his followers are injurious to his predecessor Ferchard, as we have seen, they are no less favourable to King Donald, attributing to him, against the truth of history and order of time, the religious actions of his predecessor, and passing over the disasters, which Adamnan, living at the time, tells us, King Donald's rash and im-

⁽¹⁾ [Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 19.]

A. D. 639.

prudent conduct drew upon him and the kingdom. For it was in the reign of King Ferchard, and by his assistance, and not of King Donald, as is evident by the true chronology of his reign, that the pious King Oswald recovered his kingdom, and that by the zeal and labours of Bishop Aidan and other churchmen sent him by the Scots, he settled Christianity in his territories. On the other hand, it was this King Donald that joining his forces with other enemies, attacked Donald the Second, King of Ireland, lineally descended of the same stock and family as S. Columba, and this against the express injunction accompanied with dreadful threats made by S. Columba to King Aidan at his coronation, as we said, to recommend to his children and descendants, that none of them should attack any of his kindred in Ireland under pain of incurring the wrath of God, of risking to lose their crown, of wonted courage being taken from them, and of their enemies prevailing over them. This prophecy, says Adamnan, was fulfilled in our time upon King Donald, grandson of King Aidan, his invading and ravaging the country of King Donald the Second, King of Ireland, and grandson to King Ainmire cousin to S. Columba, upon which ensued the battle of Rath or Magrath in Ireland. In punishment of this invasion, the kingdom of the Scots in Britain hath been, says Adamnan, in a decaying condition before strangers from that time forwards till now, which Adamnan as a good subject sadly laments. Accordingly we are told that our King Donald with his associates was put to flight with a great loss in this battle of Magrath, and that he was defeated in another battle probably by the Picts in Glenmorison; and it is not unlike, that to this decay of the Scots affairs in Britain may have relation also what Bede relates of King Oswald and Oswy and other Saxon monarchs about these times, and their lording it over the Scots as well as over the Picts and Britons; but that extent of the power of some of the Saxon kings was like a meteor, that lasted only during their own time and suddenly disappeared with them.

By all this we see that King Donald the First, far from being that good prince and having that prosperous reign which our modern writers ascribe to him, was neither prudent in his enterprises nor successful in his battles, but on the contrary, by his bad conduct, drew upon his kingdom and posterity for some generations great misfortunes. This King Ferchard, brother and predecessor to King Donald, being the first of our real kings whom our modern writers, copying after the dark productions forged under the name of Veremund, have thought fit to pitch upon to expose as a monster of

A. D. 639. wickedness, that so they might bring him in as an example of a king arraigned and deposed by his own subjects; I thought it necessary in order to put a matter so important to the happiness and honour of our kings and people into a clearer light, not to pass it transiently over here, but insist upon it at some more length and go to the bottom of it as far as I found certain light to walk by, that by it we might be able to make an estimate, as well of the accusations of wickedness and mal-administration with which they load, as we will see, others of our kings, as also of the groundless authority these later writers have thought fit to ascribe to the Scottish subjects over the fortunes and even the persons of their sovereigns. I hope to make it good in the continuation of these Memoirs, that in reality the tyranny exercised against all the standing laws from the beginning of the monarchy, over Queen Mary, A.D. 1567, by the faction of Knox and Murray, is the very first precedent that can be alleged from any certain history of the Scots, of any such barbarous attempt of any Scottish subjects over their sovereigns.

But before I leave this story, in which our later writers misrepresent so oddly the characters and conduct of these two kings, Ferchard the First and Donald the First, I must make a farther step, and inquire, by such light as the contemporary writers can afford, into the grounds upon which our modern writers or their vouchers seem to have forged their accusations of the one of these two princes, and built their eulogies of the other.

As to King Ferchard,—one of the chief accusations alleged against him is that he was infected with the Pelagian heresy, and denying the necessity of baptism. It were superfluous to pretend to refute such accusations, since there is not the least proof brought for them. But the conduct of King Ferchard, in so zealously concurring with the clergy of Ycolmkill to send into the North of England one of the most eminent among them, S. Aidan, to convert and baptize King Oswald's subjects, is alone sufficient to demonstrate the falsehood of this invention. And if I may give way to a probable conjecture, the only support the first vouchers of this calumny had to forge it upon, is a general complaint of Pope Honorius I. in his letter to the Scots chiefly of Ireland,^(a) that he had been informed that the Pelagian heresy was begun to spring up among them. This certainly

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 19. [The letter referred to, is not from Pope Honorius, but is the letter formerly mentioned from John, and the other Clergy of the Roman Church.]

regards only their churchmen, and the Pope speaks here only of the Scots in general, without taxing those in Britain in particular, much less their king, with giving way to the error. In fine, Fordun, as I said, hath not a word of so much as any complaint against King Ferchard.

But as to the eloges given by our modern writers to King Donald, it must be said that, however groundless they be, our later writers were not the first authors, but that they were originally owing to the mistakes of Fordun in the chronology of that king, and more yet to his misapplying of a passage of Adamnan, who, ^(a) speaking of S. Columba's giving a special benediction to a child called Donald, son of Odh or Aydo, afterwards King of Ireland, says the Saint foretold he should enjoy a happy reign and great prosperity; all which Fordun by a palpable blunder applies to Donald I., son of Eochod-buud, King of the Scots, who, far from deserving S. Columba's blessing, drew upon himself and his posterity, by transgressing the holy man's strict injunctions, the punishment foretold to his grandfather.

A.D. 640, died Garnard the fifty-third king of the Picts, and had for his successor Buide, the son of Wide or Fothe, who reigned four years, and to him succeeded Thalarg, fifty-fifth king, and reigned twelve years.

A.D. 642, happened the death of the pious prince, Oswald, King of the Saxons, the shortness of whose reign is much to be regretted; considering the character Bede and all other writers give of him. This admirable prince, after he had held the government nine years, lost his life in a bloody battle fought at Macerfield, against Penda, King of the Mercians, who had attacked him. Bede relates a great many miraculous cures wrought by making use of the dust where his corpse lay, and sets down particular relations of them at large in his History where they may be seen. ^(b) His memory was accordingly honoured by an annual solemnity in all the churches of Britain, upon the 5th of August.

He was succeeded in the kingdom of Bernicia by his brother Oswy, who had also been baptized and educated with his brothers among the Scots; he reigned twenty-eight years. He had, in the beginning of his reign, a partner of his royal dignity ^(c) called Oswin, son of Osric, of the race of King Edwin, a man of wonderful piety and devotion, who governed the province of the Deiri seven years in very great prosperity, and was himself

^(a) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 10.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cc. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

^(c) Ibid. c. 14.

A. D. 642. beloved by all men, being a prince most remarkably obliging in his behaviour, and both the rich and poor had a large share in his bounty. Among the rest of his good qualities his humility was particularly extraordinary, of which Bede gives an edifying instance, in which also appears S. Aidan's charity and disinterestedness. King Oswin gave to Bishop Aidan an extraordinary fine horse,^(a) which he might either use in crossing rivers or in performing a journey upon any urgent necessity, though he was wont to travel ordinarily on foot. Some short time after, a poor man meeting him and asking alms, he immediately dismounted, and ordered the horse with all his royal furniture, to be given to the beggar; for he was very compassionate, a great friend to the poor, and, as it were, the father of the wretched. This being told to the king, when they were going in to dinner, he said to the bishop, 'Why would you, my Lord Bishop, give the poor man that royal horse, which was necessary for your use? Had not we many other horses of less value, and of other sorts, which would have been good enough to give to the poor, and not to give that horse, which I had particularly chosen for yourself?' To whom the bishop instantly answered, 'What is it you say, O King? Is that foal of a mare more dear to you than the son of God?' Upon this they went in to dinner, and the bishop sat in his place; but the king, who was come from hunting, stood warming himself, with his attendants, at the fire. Then, on a sudden, whilst he was warming himself, calling to mind what the bishop had said to him, he ungirt his sword, and gave it to a servant, and in a hasty manner fell down at the bishop's feet, beseeching him to forgive him; 'For from this time forward,' said he, 'I will never speak any more of this, nor will I judge of what, or how much of our money you shall give to the sons of God.' The bishop was much moved at this sight, and starting up, raised him, saying, 'He was entirely reconciled to him, if he would sit down to his meat, and lay aside all sorrow.' The king, at the bishop's command and request, beginning to be merry, the bishop, on the other hand, grew so melancholy as to shed tears. His priest then asking him, in the language of his country, which the king and his servants did not understand, 'Why he wept;' 'I know,' said he, 'that the king will not live long; for I never before saw so humble a king: whence, I conclude that he will soon be snatched out of this life, because this nation is not worthy of such a ruler.'

(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 14.

A. D. 651.

Not long after the bishop's said prediction, A.D. 651, this pious prince, being betrayed by one that he trusted, was killed by order of King Oswy upon the first day of September, in the ninth year of his reign. And about a fortnight after, in the same year, Aidan himself dying received the reward of his labours in heaven, says Bede; who, after giving a particular relation of some of the last miracles wrought by him whilst alive, concludes his account of him by that of the circumstances of his death, and the miracles that ensued upon it in the following words.^(a) Aidan was in the king's country house, not far from Bebanburgh, (Bamborough,) at the time when death separated him from his body, after having been bishop sixteen years; for, having a church and a chamber there, he was wont to retire often and stay there, and to make from thence his excursions into the country round about; which he also did in others of the king's country seats, as having nothing of his own, except his church and some few lands about it. When he fell into his last sickness, they set up a tent to him at the west end of the church, close to the wall of it, so that he gave up the ghost leaning upon a shore or prop that was upon the outside of the church, to strengthen or support the wall. His death happened upon the thirty-first of August, upon which day his memory was ever since observed over all the churches in Scotland, and in the north of England, in the course of the canonical Office till the new Reformation. "His body was thence translated to the isle of Lindisfarne, and buried in the churchyard belonging to the brethren. Sometime after, when a larger church was built there and dedicated in honour of the blessed prince of the apostles, his bones were translated thither, and deposited on the right hand of the altar, with the respect due to so great a prelate.

"Finan, who had likewise come from the same monastery of Hy in the Scottish island, succeeded him, and continued a considerable time in the bishopric. It happened some years after, that Penda, King of the Mercians, coming into these parts with a hostile army, destroyed all he could with fire and sword, and burned down the village and church above mentioned, where the bishop died; but it fell out in a wonderful manner that the post which he had leaned upon when he died could not be consumed by the fire which consumed all about it. This miracle being taken notice of, the church was soon rebuilt in the same place, and that very post was set upon

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 17.

A. D. 651. the outside, as it had been before, to strengthen the wall. It happened again, some time after, that the same village and church were burned down the second time, and even then the fire could not touch that post; and when, in a most miraculous manner, the fire broke through the very holes in it wherein it was fixed to the building, and destroyed the church, yet it could do no hurt to the said post. The church being therefore built there, the third time, they did not, as before, place that post on the outside as a support, but within, as a memorial of the miracle; and the people coming in were wont to kneel there, and implore the Divine mercy. And it is manifest that since then many have been healed in that same place, as also that chips being cut off from that post and put into water, have healed many from their distempers.

"I have written thus much concerning the person and works of the aforesaid Aidan, in no way commending or approving what he imperfectly understood in relation to the observance of Easter; nay, very much detesting the same as I have most manifestly proved in the book I have written, 'De Temporibus'; but, like an impartial historian, relating what was done by or with him, and commending such things as are praiseworthy in his actions, and preserving the memory thereof for the benefit of the readers; viz., his love of peace and charity; his continence and humility; his mind superior to anger and avarice, and despising pride and vain-glory; his industry in keeping and teaching the heavenly commandments; his diligence in reading and watching; his authority becoming a priest in reproving the haughty and powerful, and at the same time his tenderness in comforting the afflicted, and relieving or defending the poor. To say all in a few words, as near as I could be informed by those that knew him, he took care to omit none of those things which he found in the apostolical or prophetic writings, but to the utmost of his power endeavoured to perform them all.

"These things I much love and admire in the aforesaid bishop; because I do not doubt that they were pleasing to God; but I do not praise or approve his not observing Easter at the proper time, either through ignorance of the canonical time appointed, or, if he knew it, being prevailed on by the authority of his nation, not to follow the same. Yet this I approve in him, that, in the celebration of his Easter, the object which he had in view in all he said, did, or preached, was the same as ours, that is, the Redemption of mankind, through the Passion, Resurrection, and As-

cension into heaven of the Man, Jesus Christ, who is the Mediator betwixt God and man. And therefore he always celebrated the same, not as some falsely imagine, on the fourteenth moon, like the Jews, whatsoever the day was, but on the Lord's day, from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon; and this he did from his belief of the Resurrection of our Lord happening on the day after the Sabbath, and for the hope of our Resurrection, which also he, with the holy Church, believed would happen on the same day after the Sabbath, now called the Lord's day."

A. D. 651.

By these last words Bede justifies S. Aidan and all the Columbites among the Scots the Picts and Saxons from the imputation of being guilty of the heresy or rather schism of the Quarto-Decimans, which chiefly consisted in celebrating Easter always upon the fourteenth of the moon of March, whatever day of the week it fell upon, and without any regard to the Sunday. Whereas Bede affirms, both in this and in many other places^(a) of his History, that the Scots and all other followers of the discipline of the Columbites celebrated the feast always upon a Sunday, and never celebrated it upon the fourteenth of the moon, the same day with the Jews, but where this fourteenth day happened to fall upon the Sunday. So this error or mistake of the Columbites proceeded originally from their simplicity or ignorance of the decrees and practice of foreign Churches and not from any affectation to celebrate the feast upon the same day with the Jews or with the Asiatic Schismatics.

It is no wonder to find Bede so careful to vindicate S. Aidan's adhering to the customs of his country in celebrating Easter from all imputation of the spirit of schism, when, at the same time, he relates the testimony that the Heavens rendered to his sanctity, not only during his life but at the moment of his departure from this world, which gave occasion to the retreat of S. Cuthbert, another precious ornament of our country, and his entry to the Columbite monastery of Melrose, founded by S. Aidan upon the river Tweed.

S. Cuthbert's Life was written from the relations of those that knew him by Bede, first a part in prose, and then in verse, besides the large account he gives of him in his Ecclesiastical History; and it was also written by a contemporary anonymous writer who might have seen the Saint. From all which it appears in the judgment, not only of Scottish

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cc. 4, 19, 25; lib. v. c. 21.

A. D. 651. writers, but of the most learned among the English and French, that he was a native of the eastern parts of the Island which make a part of the kingdom of Scotland, for, according to these authentic relations of his life, we find him from his childhood brought up in those parts at a place called Tynningham, by a devout widow whom, for that reason, he used to call his mother. We find him also a very young man near the river Tyne in Lothian, and a shepherd upon the river Leder or Lauder in Lauderdale when it pleased God to manifest to him the glory of S. Aidan at his death, which Bede relates in the following words:—

“One night it happened that whilst S. Cuthbert was watching in prayer, the other shepherds his companions being asleep, he saw on a sudden a light from heaven so bright that it dispelled all the darkness, and therein he saw great multitudes of Angels descending to the earth,^(a) and, presently after, returning to heaven, carrying with them a soul of marvellous brightness. This light touched exceedingly the devout youth, and inspired him with an earnest desire to undertake a spiritual life, that thereby he might be a partaker of eternal felicity. Having awakened his companions he gave them an account of what he had seen, adding—Surely this was either a holy bishop or some other perfect person whom I saw, says he, with resplendent brightness and such quires of Angels carried up to heaven.

“The next day he was informed,” says Bede, “that S. Aidan, Bishop of the Church of Lindisfarne, a man of admirable piety, died that very hour in which he had seen his soul mounting up to heaven. Whereupon he presently resigned the sheep committed to his care to their owner, and resolved without delay to retire to a monastery.” Bede continues on, and relates the exactitude of S. Cuthbert, in observing the fast of Friday, till three afternoon (which was the general observance of all devout people, especially of those instructed by S. Aidan and the Columbites); to recompense which Almighty God was pleased to send him food in a miraculous manner upon his journey.

There were at that time, among others, two famous monasteries in those parts (both founded by S. Aidan) Lindisfarne near the borders, and Melrose in Scotland. Cuthbert chose this last where Eata was abbot, and Boisil prior, both of them disciples of S. Aidan, and both houses governed by the rule of Ycolmkill, and clothed in habits of white (such as S. Columba

^(a) Vita Cuth. c. iv.

and the Columbites wore) or rather of the colour of the wool afforded by the sheep, which custom continued in these monasteries as yet, in Bede's time. A. D. 651.

Boisil, says Bede,^(a) kindly received the devout young man, in the absence of Eata the abbot, to whom, at his return, having declared the good intention of Cuthbert, he obtained permission for him, after he had received the tonsure after the manner in use among the Scots, to be admitted among the brethren. Thus entering into the monastery, Cuthbert was careful to equal, or excel the rest of the brethren in the religious observances of reading, working, watching, and prayer. In which words we may observe the same pious exercises in Melrose, as we have seen in Ycolmkill, whereof Melrose was a daughter or colony derived from it by S. Aidan. And accordingly we find the same usages as well as pious practices among those bred in Melrose as in those of the island Hy.

After this account of S. Cuthbert's origin and first beginning, taken from so authentic writers, it is scarce worth the while to mention a legend of his life, translated from the Irish, and published by Capgrave, from John of Tinmouth, which makes S. Cuthbert son to an Irish king, born in Ireland, and conducted by his mother, in his infancy, to Scotland, at the time that one Columba was bishop at Dunkeld.^(b) The same writer mentions two other bishops in Scotland about these times, Eatan and Moedan, whom Colgan endeavours, with great pains, to make also Irishmen.^(c)

As to this Bishop Columba, he endeavours to show, by the analogy of Irish names, that he was the same with the famous Bishop Colman who was sent by the Scots, A.D. 661, upon the death of Finan, Bishop of the Northumbrians, to succeed to him; and our modern writers suppose Colman was bishop before his mission to England. But whatever be the truth of this legend, first given by John of Tinmouth, it suffices to show that before Fordun's time, it was believed there were in this seventh age several bishops in Scotland.

The same year, 651, to Aidan in the episcopal dignity among the Northumbrians succeeded Finan,^(d) sent as S. Aidan had been, from the island Hy or Ycolmkill where he had received the degree of bishop,

^(a) Vita. Cuth. c. vi.

^(b) Colgan, Vit. SS. Hibern. p. 679.

^(c) Ibid. p. 691.

^(d) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cc. 17, 25.



A. D. 651. being ordained by the bishops, who, as we observed elsewhere, resided either in Ycolmkill or in the neighbour provinces, and were to be found upon a call. S. Finan built in Lindisfarne island a church becoming the Episcopal seat; the which, nevertheless, after the manner of the Scots, he made not of stone, but of hewed oak, and covered it with reeds.

It was in Bishop Finan's time that the controversy about Easter began to be agitated with greater warmth betwixt the Scots that followed the discipline and usages of the Columbites, on the one hand, and, on the other, those that came from Kent or from the Gauls, who accused the Scots as keeping Easter Sunday, contrary to the custom of the universal Church.^(a) This difference about Easter, whilst Bishop Aidan lived, was patiently tolerated by all men, as being sensible that he could not keep Easter contrary to the custom of those that sent him; yet he was most exact in the practice of the Christian virtues of faith, piety, and love, according to the custom of all holy men; which made him be deservedly beloved by all, even by those who differed in opinion from him about Easter: but of this afterwards.

A.D. 652, died Segenius, Abbot of Ycolmkill, one of the greatest men of those times, and one of the most forward defenders of the Scottish usages, as we have observed. To him succeeded in the government of that Abbey, Suibneus, son of Cuthri, who sat five years. However, the usages of the Columbite Scots began about these times to be more violently attacked. Nevertheless, it pleased Almighty God to continue his blessing upon their labours among the Saxons with a visible success. And the year 663, the second of Bishop Finan's episcopal administration, became remarkable for the conversion of the Midland English, and the recovery of the East Saxons to the Christian Faith, whereof Bishop Finan and the Columbite Scots, or those educated and ordained by them and following their usages, were, under God, the principal instruments—of all which we have the following account from Bede.^(b)

About this time the Middle Angles, under their prince, Penda, son of Penda, received the faith and sacraments of Truth. This prince being an excellent youth, and most worthy of the title and dignity of a king, was by his father Penda set over that part of the kingdom. He went to Oswy, King of the Northumbrians, and asked to have in marriage his

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 25.

^(b) Ibid. c. 21.

daughter Alfeda, but could not obtain his desire unless he would embrace the Faith of Christ, and be baptized with the nation that he governed. Whereupon, beginning to give ear to the preaching of truth, he was so touched with the promise of a heavenly kingdom, the hopes of a glorious resurrection and future immortality, that he declared that he was resolved to become a Christian, even though he should be refused the virgin, being chiefly persuaded to embrace the Faith by a son of King Oswy, called Alchfrid, his kinsman and friend, who had married his sister. He, therefore, with all his companions, and soldiers, and their servants, was baptized by Bishop Finan in a village belonging to the king, called At the wall, (Ad murum). And, having received from the Bishop four priests, who, for their learning and good lives, were found proper to instruct and baptize his nation, he returned home with great joy.

A. D. 653.

The names of these priests were Cedd, and Adda, and Betti, and Diuma, the last of which was a Scotsman, the others English.

These priests, being arrived with the Prince in the province of the Middle Angles, preached the Word and were willingly listened to; and many of the nobility, as well as of the common sort, daily renouncing idolatry were baptized. Nor did King Penda himself, though an idolater, make any opposition to the progress of the Gospel; on the contrary he gave free leave to preach it in his own kingdom of the Mercians to all who had a mind to hear it. Nay, he hated and despised such as had received the Faith of Christ, and did not perform the works of Faith, saying, they were contemptible and wretched who did not obey their God, in whom they believed. These things began about two years before the death of King Penda.

(^a) The same year, the Christian Faith was restored among the East Saxons, which they had formerly abandoned, expelling Mellitus their bishop. It was at the instance of King Oswy that they now received it; for Sigebert, King of the East Saxons, being a great friend of King Oswy, and coming often to see him, Oswy exhorted him to the contempt of the idols, and Sigebert, being at last fully persuaded of the truth, was baptized with his followers by Bishop Finan, at the foresaid place called At the wall, (Ad murum.) King Sigebert became thus a citizen of the eternal kingdom, returned to the seat of his temporal dominion, and requested King Oswy to

(^a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 22.

A. D. 653. send him some teachers who might convert his nation to the Faith of Christ, and baptize them. Oswy, therefore, recalled the man of God, Cedd, from the Middle Angles, and adjoining to him another priest for a companion, sent them to preach to the East Saxons, where, after travelling through all the country they assembled a great congregation to the Lord. As it happened that the holy man Cedd returned home to the Church and Island of Lindisfarne, where he had been educated, to confer with Bishop Finan, the good bishop, finding how successful Cedd had been in the work of the Gospel, resolved to promote him to a higher dignity; wherefore, calling to him two others, bishops, to assist him in the ordination, he created him Bishop of the East Saxons.

I cannot help observing here a sensible proof of the belief of the necessity of bishops, its being as much established in Ycolmkill and among the Columbites as it was in any other part of the Christian Church, otherwise what motive could Bishop Finan, a Columbite, bred up in Ycolmkill, and governing himself by the usages and institutions of that mother house, have to advance Cedd from the dignity of presbyter to that of bishop, but that Bishop Finan and the Columbites were persuaded, as all other Christians in those days, that though the Character of the presbyter Cedd sufficed to qualify him to preach the Gospel to the East Saxons, to convert and baptize them, now that it was the question to form these neophytes into a Church, to furnish them with pastors, and to preserve unity among the pastors of the second Order, to govern them and to perpetuate the sacred ministry among them, &c., it was necessary to settle a bishop in their country, and none being so acceptable to them as Cedd, to advance him to the episcopal dignity. And what the Columbite Bishop Finan observed on this occasion, we ought not to doubt but the other bishops, bred up as Finan had been in Ycolmkill, had followed the same practice among the Scots and the Picts from the beginning, and that according as new provinces were brought in, and the number of the faithful increased, they used to send them a bishop necessary to govern them, to form them into a regular Church, and by ordination of pastors, to perpetuate the sacred ministry among them, and to perform the other functions annexed to the episcopal Character. Thus the holy man Cedd having, says Bede, received the episcopal degree (or as Bede calls it, in another place, having attained to the degree of high priest, "summi sacerdotis gradu") returned to his province, and then with a more ample authority prosecuted the work he had begun,

performing now, by the power annexed to the episcopal Character, functions which he could not perform before whilst he was only a presbyter, such as, among others, that he erected churches in several places, ordained priests and deacons to assist him in the work of the Gospel and the ministry of baptism, following the example of generally all other first preachers of Christianity. In order to form a sufficient number of churchmen for the service of the people, he assembled and set up two communities or seminaries of devout servants of Christ, and taught them to observe the discipline of a regular life according to the Columbite institution and usages in which he himself had been educated at Lindisfarne.

A. D. 653.

It is scarce possible to find in antiquity more energetical terms than what Bede makes use of here to express the episcopal dignity of this Columbite Bishop Cedd, its proper functions, and the distinction of it from, and its superiority to the degree of presbyters; especially if we add to this what Bede adjoins in this same chapter, of the power of excommunication exercised with so great authority by Bishop Cedd, that it is extended even to punish all that violated his censure not even excepting the king's person. And in the following chapter Bede relates the solemn consecration of a church and of a monastery by the same bishop, as shall be related afterwards. Now both these functions of solemn excommunication and consecration of churches were reserved peculiarly to bishops in this age.

Bede gives us the following account of the consecration of this church and monastery,^(a) by Bishop Cedd, who, as we have observed, had been educated with his three brothers in the monastery of Lindisfarne, according to the rule and practices of Ycolmkill established in Lindisfarne by S. Aidan its founder.

Bede informs us, then, that Odilvald, King of Deira, having resolved to found in his kingdom a monastery to which he might from time to time retire to give himself to prayer and hearing the Word of God, having also in his view to choose this monastery for his burial place, to the end that both during his life, and after his death, he might be edified by the daily prayers of those who were to serve God in that place, being fully persuaded that the prayers of those whom he was to establish in it for performing Divine Service would be very beneficial to his soul;^(b) wherefore, being in-

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 23.

^(b) Ibid.

A. D. 653.

formed of the sanctity and wisdom of the above mentioned Cedd, Bishop of the East Saxons, upon a time when he came to Northumberland, the king intreated him to accept of a parcel of ground for erecting a monastery in his dominions. The bishop yielded to his desire, and made choice for the situation of this monastery, not of a fertile or agreeable soil, but of remote and steep mountains, which had formerly been rather the lurking places of robbers or the retreat of wild beasts than the habitation of men.

And the bishop having informed the king that the usage of those among whom he had been bred up to a regular life, that is, of the Columbites, was to consecrate to God by prayer and fasting the places that were destined for churches or monasteries, he prayed the king that he might have leave to pass the forty days of Lent, which was at hand, in these holy exercises; which he performed accordingly, fasting, according to custom, every day of Lent, except Sundays, till night, and then allowing himself a small quantity of bread with one egg, and a little milk and water. When the time of prayer and fasting was over, he erected and dedicated the church and monastery to God, and established in it Religious men, according to the rules and usages to which he himself had been bred up in the Columbite monastery of Lindisfarne, founded by S. Aidan according to the rule and discipline of Ycolmkill, of which from this relation of Bede we have a faithful account, and by consequence of the religion and holy observances established by S. Columba, and practised by the Columbite bishops and priests among our ancestors the Scots and Picts.

A.D. 653, died Donald, King of Scots, the first of that name, surnamed Breac, after a reign of fourteen years. Our modern writers who call him Donald the Fourth, give him the character of a good and religious prince, and these characters are due to the humanity with which he sheltered Oswald and the other children of King Ethelfrid, and the zeal with which he caused educate them in the Christian religion, in the monastery of Ycolmkill, but they make no mention of the war made, (according to Adamnan), against Donald, King of Ireland, grandson to Ainmire, a near relation of S. Columba, against the express injunction the holy abbot had given to our King Aidan at his coronation, to recommend to his posterity that none of them should attack his relations in Ireland, under pain of incurring the indignation of Almighty God, so as to have the heart of men taken from them, that is, to lose their wonted courage and see their enemies prevail against them. The kingdom fell into such a decay before strangers, in

Adamnan's time, that it caused him exceeding grief. Perhaps an effect of this decay of the Scottish monarchy was that the same King Donald was, according to the Irish Annals, overcome and killed by Hoan, King of the Britons, and to the same transgressing the holy abbot's injunction may be owing the exorbitant power that, according to the Saxon writers, some of the English kings had over the Scots as well as over the Picts, and the other neighbouring princes in this age.

This King Donald the First had for immediate successor, according to all the remains of our ancient chronicles, Malduin the eleventh king of Scots, and not Ferchard, as our modern writers, following Fordun, have him. Malduin reigned sixteen years.

A.D. 656, Oswy, King of the Northumbrians, being attacked with a numerous army by Penda, the pagan king of the Mercians, gained with a small body of troops a signal victory over him, having routed his army and killed him; and soon after he made himself master of Penda's kingdom. It is observable that Oswy, in order to obtain the protection of God against this powerful and cruel prince, obliged himself by a solemn vow to consecrate to the service of God, in perpetual virginity, his only daughter Elfeda, and accordingly placed her to be educated in a monastery under the famous Columbite abbess, Hilda. Such was the devotion that King Oswy had learned among the Scots in the abbey of Ycolmkill, where, as we have observed, he had been educated with the rest of his brethren, and instructed in the faith and practices of Christianity, according to the usages of the Columbites in that famous monastery.

This Abbess Hilda was of royal blood of the Northumbrian kings, and after passing honourably thirty years in a secular life, being resolved to consecrate herself to God in a monastery, and for that end to leave her country and to pass over to the monastery of Chelles in France, she was stopt by S. Aidan, and by him consecrated abbess of a monastery called Heruteu in Northumberland, founded by one Heiu, who was the first Saxon woman of those parts who had embraced the monastic state, and had been consecrated a nun by the foresaid Bishop Aidan. Hilda being set over this monastery began immediately to reduce all things to a regular course of life, according as she was instructed by learned men, especially Bishop Aidan; and by consequence, the rule settled in it was that of the Columbites for those of her sex, and we shall see her persevere in the Columbite usages with greater steadiness than many others. And no wonder, for

A. D. 653.

A. D. 656. Bede observes, that her innate wisdom and zeal for the service of God made her be esteemed, frequently visited, and thoroughly instructed by Aidan, and other eminent persons of piety.

"When Hilda had for some years governed this monastery, wholly intent upon establishing a regular life, it happened that she also undertook either to build or to arrange a monastery in the place called Streaneshalch (Whitby), which work she industriously performed; for she put this monastery under the same regular discipline as she had done the former; and taught there the strict observance of justice, piety, chastity, and other virtues, and particularly of peace and charity; so that after the example of the primitive Church, no person was there rich, and none poor, all being in common to all, and none having any property. Her prudence was so great, that not only indifferent persons, but even kings and princes, as occasion offered, asked and received her advice; she obliged those who were under her direction to attend so much to reading of the Holy Scriptures, and to exercise themselves so much in works of justice, that many might be there found fit for ecclesiastical duties, and to serve at the altar. In short, we afterwards saw five bishops taken out of that monastery, and all of them men of singular merit and sanctity, whose names were Bosa, Hedda, Oftfor, John, and Wilfrid." (*)

We see by this relation that, according to the Columbite discipline, there were monasteries of virgins and women as well as of men. Such were in Scotland, in Bede's time, the monasteries of Coldingham and Tinningham in the south, and others in Ycolmkill itself and other parts of the Isles, as appears yet by the names of the places where they were situated; and whatever abuses the decay of regularity and the general corruption of mankind must have afterwards introduced into these sanctuaries, upon which, for a caution to posterity our writers are not silent, nor the Church neglected to apply remedies; nor shall I be as occasion offers; but whatever abuses may have crept in by length of time, such a sensible proof of the force of God's grace, and according to the ancient Fathers, such a demonstration of the verity and sanctity of the Christian Religion, wherewith even infidels were astonished and induced to open their eyes upon the perfection of Christianity, such a practice, I say, as the

(*) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 23.

observance of perpetual virginity, so much commended by the Apostle, could not be decried in itself, be inveighed against, and run down by words and example, nor the rules so necessary for observing it designedly destroyed by any who were animated by the apostolic spirit. For if the gift of continency be a privilege granted only to some, and therefore according to the evangelical law entirely left to each one's free choice, and according to the ancient laws of the Church, not to be undertaken under any perpetual tie without mature examination and previous trial; yet either to render the observation almost impossible, the shutting up all retreats necessary for observing it seems a reflection upon the wisdom of the Author of our holy religion by supposing that the Lord and his apostles had imposed on their followers impracticable perfection: but how much more to break through the solemn vows once made to God to observe it, and more yet to glory in this prevarication and incite others to the infidelity can proceed only from the hearts and minds of men void of the Spirit of God, and wholly ingulfed in carnal sensuality.

A. D. 656.

Secundo. That some of these monasteries were double, composed of Religious men as well as women, but both of them living in separate habitations, and each employed in applications fitting their sex, and conformable to their talents; and all for the edification or service of the Church.

But to return to King Oswy. The effects of his victory over Penda, and of his becoming master of the kingdom of the Mercians, was the conversion of the inhabitants and the settling of a bishop over them. The first was Diuma, a Scotsman, educated in the Columbite monastery of Lindisfarne, sent at first by Finan, as we have seen, with three other Columbite priests to preach to the Middle Angles, and now settled and consecrated by him bishop both of the Middle Angles and of the Mercians; for the scarcity of subjects fit for the episcopal degree obliged Finan to commit two nations to one bishop. We may here observe, that hitherto among the bishops of the Saxons of the north converted by the Scots there appears no other division of districts or dioceses but only that of kingdoms. Each bishop being a national bishop as we have observed those among the Scots and Picts were. So it appears that the discipline in the establishing of bishops among the Saxons by our Scottish Columbite bishops was regulated rather upon what they had seen practised in their own country, as well as upon the circumstances of the Saxons whom they had lately converted, than upon the canonical order observed in Churches

A. D. 657.

abroad, with which, it is like, they were not much acquainted; besides that the circumstances, of the inhabitants that had never been under the Roman Empire did not as yet allow of that exterior form of diocesan bishops to which the Roman polity had prepared the way; and this custom of regionary or national bishops seems to have continued in most parts of England till the time of Archbishop Theodore, a prelate well skilled in the discipline and canons of the Church, who seems to have been the first that applied himself to multiply the bishops of the Scots, and to assign to each of them a locality or diocese according to the general practice of the rest of the Church and the prescript of the canons.

To Diuma, first bishop of the Mercians, who gained many souls to God in a short time, succeeded Bishop Ceollach, who was also a Scotsman.^(a) Ceollach after some years resigned his charge and returned to Scotland to Ycolmkill, which is the chief and as it were the bulwark of the Scottish monasteries, and there remained till he died. After him succeeded Trumhere, an Englishman: he had been educated also among the Scots, and was at first settled abbot of a place called Ingetlingum, a monastery founded by Queen Eanflæd in the place where King Oswin was killed, in order to have prayers daily made there for the soul of the deceased king, and for obtaining mercy from God for King Oswy that killed him.

A.D. 657. Upon the death of Suibne, Abbot of Ycolmkill, succeeded Cuminius, surnamed the White, and governed twelve years. This is he who wrote the first account that we have of S. Columba's life, which Adamnan makes mention of and follows. It is the first of the collection of the Lives of the Saint published by Colgan;^(b) it was afterwards printed by Father Mabillon^(c) from a manuscript of the monastery of Compien, and by Father Papebrock from another manuscript. The same year, 657, Thalarq, King of the Picts, was succeeded by Talorcán, son of Enfret or Anfrade, who reigned four years.

About this time King Alechfrid, son to Oswy, having for the health of his soul made to Eata, Abbot of Melrose, a donation of a place called Inhrypum, now Rippon, in order to found a monastery, this abbot chose out of Melrose some of the brethren to plant this new monastery, in which he established the same institutes and discipline as in Melrose, that

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 24.

^(b) Trias Thaumati.

^(c) Acta Benedict. tom. i.

A. D. 660.

is the Columbite rule and usages.^(a) Among those that the Abbot Eata pitched upon for this new establishment was Cuthbert, who, as we have seen, had about ten years ago renounced the world, and entered Melrose under the discipline of the holy man Boisil, who was Prior of that house under the Abbot Eata, and a very spiritual man endued with the gift of prophecy.^(b) Cuthbert having wholly resigned himself to his directions, received from him both the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the example of good works; for, as we have elsewhere observed, the method of the Columbite masters was to prescribe nothing to their disciples but what they practised themselves. We have also seen the prudent caution observed by Boisil and so of the other Columbite doctors in training up their disciples in the knowledge of the Holy Scripture, which was one of their chief studies.

Eata gave to Cuthbert in his own new monastery of Rippon the charge of attending the guests, in which, says Bede, he had the happiness sometimes to receive angels. But this new establishment of Rippon remained not long in the hands of Eata and the Columbites.^(c) For the same King Alchfrid that had bestowed it upon them, being upbraided by the famous Wilfrid and by him prejudged against the Columbite usages, especially of Easter and the tonsure, after urging Eata and his religious men either to abandon these usages or to leave this new monastery, they chose this last, and returned in a body to Melrose, upon which King Alchfrid gave the monastery of Rippon to Wilfrid, of whom because of the figure he makes in the ecclesiastical history of these times it is necessary to give a short account.

Wilfrid born of a noble family in Northumberland, was at the age of fourteen placed by Eanfled, spouse to King Oswy, for his education in the Columbite monastery of Lindisfarne, the chief school of piety and letters in the north of England. After four years' abode in that house, having conceived some doubt about the usages of the Columbites, he resolved to travel abroad for his farther improvement and in order to be fully instructed in the subject of the debates of those times. After passing a short while with Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, he passed in company of Benedict Biscop to Lyons in France, and was kindly received and entertained by

^(a) Vita Cuth. c. vii.

^(b) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 27.

^(c) Vita Cuth. c. viii.

A. D. 660. the Archbishop Dalfin, otherwise called Annemund or Chaumond, and from thence he went to Rome, where, being thoroughly instructed in the great debates of the time concerning Easter and the tonsure, he returned to Lyons, and after the death or martyrdom of his friend the Archbishop Dalfin he returned home to his country, and being kindly received by King Alchfrid, because of his virtue, learning, and attachment to the Roman usages, he was by this prince put in possession of the monastery of Rippon, which Eata, Cuthbert, and the rest of the Columbites had chosen rather to give up than to renounce their own usages.

We have already given a short account of the controversy about Easter. It is necessary before we proceed, to say something of that about the tonsure. It chiefly consisted in the form of the tonsure. Those that followed the usage of Rome and other foreign Churches had their tonsure shorn in a circle; whereas the tonsure of the Scots was not fully round and did not reach the hindermost part of the head, and therefore resembled a crescent or semi-circle; such as Father Mabillon hath caused engrave a model of^(a) in the picture of Mummoleu, Bishop of Noyon, who had been bred in the Scottish or Irish monastery of Luxeu. The question at the bottom seems now-a-days not to have been of that importance which it appeared to be to those of the seventh or eighth age, and perhaps one reason of the heats about it was that the party opposite to the Scots, to render their adversaries more odious, attributed the Roman form of tonsure to the institution of S. Peter, and that of the Scots to Simon Magus. But that origin which was so generally believed in those days is long since exploded by the learned, who assign a more natural origin to the tonsure, which seems not to have been in use till the fifth or sixth age. I cannot, I conceive, give a better account of the origin of the clerical tonsure and habit than in the words of one of the most esteemed historians of our time and the most versed in the ecclesiastical discipline.^(b) "In the first ages of the Church there was no distinction between the clergy and the laity, as to the hair, the dress, and the whole exterior; this would have been to expose oneself needlessly to the persecution, which was always more cruel against the clergy than against the simple faithful; and all had a modesty of exterior which would have become clergymen. The freedom of the Church from persecution pro-

^(a) Annal. Bened. tom. i. pp. 528, 529.

^(b) Fleury, Droit Canon. c. v. p. 32. [Opuscules de Fleury; Institution au Droit Ecclesiastique, c. v. p. 177. Nismes. 1780.]

A. D. 660.

duced no change in this respect; and more than a hundred years after, that is to say in the year 428, the Pope, S. Celestine, testified that the bishops themselves had nothing in their dress which distinguished them from the people. All the Latin Christians then wore the ordinary dress of the Romans, which was long, with the hair very short, and the beard shaven. The barbarians who ruined the empire were of a figure wholly different; the dress short and tight, the hair long, some without beard, some with great beards. The Romans viewed them with horror, and as, at the time when these barbarians established themselves, all the clergy were Roman, they carefully preserved their dress, which became the clerical dress, so that, when the Franks and the other barbarians had become Christians, those who entered among the clergy had their hair cut, and assumed the long dress. About the same time, several among the bishops and the other clergy assumed the dress which the monks then wore, as most conformed to Christian modesty; and from this comes, as is believed, the clerical corona; for there were monks who shaved the front of the head to render themselves contemptible." However that be, it appears by a passage of S. Gregory of Tours, that the tonsure in form of a crown was already in use in the beginning of the sixth age. And this was the form of it at Rome, and elsewhere abroad, at the time the controversy about it arose; but this form hath been much altered in posterior ages, and at last this crown, brought into a smaller or larger circle among the clergy according to the lower or higher degree of Orders they are advanced to; whereas the monks or regulars have preserved it more in the ancient large form. Thus far as to the origin and alterations of it in the usage of Rome. But I find no distinct account of the true origin of the semi-circular form of the tonsure, anciently in use among the Scots, and old Britons, and Irish. And upon the whole, I cannot but join with Ceolfrid in that wise saying of his, in his letter to Naitan, King of the Picts. "The difference of tonsure is not hurtful to those whose faith is pure towards God, and their charity sincere towards their neighbour."^(a) For what appears most reprehensible in the controversy about these ceremonial points is the heat with which some of the parties carried the matter to schism and breach of communion, as it appears some of the Scots and Irish did, by the Archbishop Laurence's letter to Bede; and the old Britons seem to have

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 21.

A. D. 661. carried it to the last extremity, as we see by Aldhelm's letter to one of their kings.^(a)

A.D. 661. Amidst these debates happened the death of Finan, Bishop of the Northumbrians, upon the seventeenth of February, on which day his festival is marked in our calendars and was always afterwards celebrated in our churches whilst the Catholic religion stood. His charity and zeal for promoting the conversion of the Saxons, both in the north among the Middle Angles, and even as far south as the East Saxons, where Sigebert their king, whom he baptized, re-established the Christian religion, and consecrated a bishop to continue in the work of the Gospel, the charity I say, and zeal of this holy bishop was no doubt abundantly compensated, and covered before God, the ruggedness that Bede challenges in his temper, for not yielding to the solicitations of those (among other men of one Roman another Scotsman) who pressed him to abandon the Columbite usages, to which the example of the holy men among whom he had been bred in Ycolmkill, and particularly of his predecessor, S. Aidan, and of the great S. Columba, kept him attached.

Finan sat bishop of the Northumbrians ten years, and was succeeded by Colman, who, as his predecessors had been, was also sent bishop from Ycolmkill^(b) by the Scots; among whom, our modern writers, Boece and Lesly, pretend that he exercised his episcopal functions before his going into the north of England and after his return from it.

However that be, which I leave upon the credit of these writers, it is certain that nothing took up more both these bishops Finan and Colman next to the discharge of their pastoral office, during their abode in England, than the controversy about Easter solemnity and the form of the ecclesiastical tonsure which makes a considerable part of the history of the Church of the Scots in these times.

A.D. 662. The Abbot Eata, with Cuthbert and the rest of his new congregation at Rippon, being, as we have seen, dismissed by King Alchfrid because of their attachment to the Columbite usages, and the monastery of Rippon bestowed upon Wilfrid, they returned to their abbey of Melrose, and soon after the holy man Boisil, Prior of that abbey, being deceased, Cuthbert was obliged by the Abbot Eata to accept of that charge.

Cuthbert then being established Prior of Melrose, not only instructed

^(a) Ibid. lib v. c. 18.

^(b) Ibid. lib. iv. c. 4.

by word and example those of the monastery in the duties of piety and of a religious life, but travelled far and near among the inhabitants of those parts, especially in the parts of Scotland to the south of the friths, preaching to them and exhorting them to be converted from their wicked conversation by laying before them the happiness and joys of heaven. For many of them, even of those that were Christians, in the time of pestilence, instead of addressing God to obtain mercy and deliverance from Him, had recourse to charms and diabolical enchantments to be preserved from the sickness. Wherefore to remedy this illusion, the holy man, following the example of his predecessor Boisil, went frequently out of the monastery through the country, sometimes on horseback, but more frequently on foot, to the villages around, and preached the way of truth to the inhabitants. For the custom began in the time of S. Aidan, as we observed already, and in that of his Columbite disciples continued still among those people, to wit, that when a priest or other Churchman came into any village, all the people, upon his advertisement, used joyfully to convene to him to hear the Word, and with great cheerfulness to obey and practice what they had heard or learned.

A. D. 662.

And Cuthbert had such a talent of preaching, such a zeal for moving and persuading what he preached, such an angelical countenance and penetration, that none could conceal from him even the secrets of their heart, but all of them made to him an open and voluntary confession of their sins, being persuaded that nothing could escape his knowledge, nor were they less careful to perform the penitential works that he enjoined them for the sins they had confessed. And here Bede and another contemporary writer to S. Cuthbert, give us in the description of S. Cuthbert's life such a perfect model of the zeal and labours with which he, and our other Columbite Churchmen performed their pastoral functions both in Scotland and England before the canonical division was settled into dioceses and parishes.

The custom of S. Cuthbert, says Bede, was to travel chiefly through those places, and to preach in those villages and hamlets, which, being the most remote and situated among the steep and high mountains, were frightful to look at, and by the poverty as well as rudeness of the inhabitants hindered the access of other doctors or preachers to come at them. But the holy man was so far from being terrified by these inconveniences that he used often to leave the monastery and not only to undergo all the toil and hardships of these barbarous parts, but took such pleasure to cultivate with

A. D. 662. the doctrine of salvation these rude inhabitants, that he frequently made his abode among them, in these mountainous places two or three weeks and even whole months at a time, in order to inspire and inflame them by his preaching and example with the love of heavenly things.

But what chiefly gave so great success to his preaching among our countrymen to the south of the friths, was not only his labours and zeal for the salvation of souls but the sanctity of his life accompanied with miracles, of which Bede relates several wrought by him, whilst he was Prior of Melrose, in his different progresses through those parts of Scotland to preach, instruct, and baptize the people. Among others, being in desert places and without all provisions he was miraculously fed, once in Niddisdale, another time in Teviotdale. Being upon a time at a village of those parts called Runigham, and lodged in the house of a devout woman, he miraculously extinguished a violent fire that threatened to consume all the village. This holy woman whose name was Kenspre had taken care of him and entertained him from nine years of age till he was a man, and therefore he used to call her his mother, by which it is evident that S. Cuthbert was a native of those parts of Scotland, and that is also the opinion of all the learned who have examined this point. So we may also observe, what Bede and other ancient authors of his life relate of his preaching and miracles, whilst he was Prior of Melrose, happened generally all in different places of the south of Scotland. Thus it happened that the report of his sanctity and miracles, spread far and near in those parts, engaged the Abbess of Coldingham to send to intreat him to come to visit her monastery, and comfort them by his pious exhortations. This abbess was the famous Ebba, sister to King Oswy, and daughter to King Ethelfrid. She had been, as we have said, instructed and baptized with the rest of King Ethelfrid's children among the Scots, and bred up to the Columbite usages. Upon Aidan's coming to preach to the Northumbrians in King Oswald's time, she had by him or by his successor S. Finan been consecrated to God, and settled Abbess of Coldingham. This monastery, as we observed, was double, consisting of virgins and churchmen, like that of Streaneshalch. But however, they lived in separate habitations, yet by degrees abuses crept in, and brought upon it the judgments of heaven, as we shall see in its proper place. S. Cuthbert being come hither upon the abbess' invitation, abode some days and preached to them the way of justice, or rules of Christian and religious life, both by his words and example. It is observed by Bede, that during his abode in this monastery,

which is upon the sea-side, he used every night, according to his custom, while the rest were asleep, to go down to the sea, and persist in prayer standing in the cold water, till the hour of the canonical office called him home to the monastery to perform it with the rest of the brethren.

A. D. 662.

This singular practice of standing in cold water during their private prayers, which, it is said, was used by S. Patrick, was a penitential exercise of other holy men in these times. We will see a singular example of it in the famous penitent of Melrose, our countryman Drythelm, towards the end of this age.

Meantime the controversy about Easter, and other usages of the Columbanes, which had lain dormant in Bishop Aidan's time, had begun to be agitated with greater heat in that of Bishop Finan, and broke out anew with more violence during the episcopate of Colman, those that were come from Kent or France affirming that the Scottish manner of observing Easter was contrary to the custom of the Universal Church.^(a) Among these, one of the most fierce adversaries of the Scottish usages, was one Ronan, a Scotsman by birth, but educated in Italy and France, and there, says Bede, instructed in the true rules of the Easter observation, who encountering often Bishop Finan, reduced many to the canonical observation of the high solemnity, or at least to make a more diligent enquiry into the matter. But his arguings made no impression upon Bishop Finan, but on the contrary rather exasperated him, and made him a professed adversary to the true observation of Easter, Finan being himself a man of a warm temper and perhaps irritated by the reproofs of an inferior, as Ronan was. James, formerly deacon of the venerable archbishop Paulinus, kept also the true and Catholic Easter, with all those that he could reduce to the more correct way. "Queen Eanfleda and her followers also observed the same, as she had seen practised in Kent, having with her a Kentish priest that followed the Catholic mode, whose name was Romanus. Thus it is said to have happened in those times that Easter was twice kept in one year, and that, when the king having ended the time of fasting, kept his Easter, the queen and her followers were still fasting, and celebrating Palm Sunday. This difference about the observance of Easter, whilst Aidan lived, was patiently tolerated by all men, as being sensible, that though he could not keep Easter contrary to the custom of those who had sent him, yet he industri-

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 25.

A. D. 664. ously laboured to practice all works of faith, piety, and love, according to the custom of all holy men; for which reason he was deservedly beloved by all, even by those who differed in opinion concerning Easter, and was held in veneration, not only by indifferent persons, but even by the bishops, Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of the East Angles.

“ But after the death of Finan, who succeeded him, when Colman, who was also sent out of Scotland, came to be bishop, a great controversy arose about the observance of Easter, and the rules of ecclesiastical life. Whereupon this dispute began naturally to influence the thoughts and hearts of many, who feared lest having received the name of Christians, they might happen to run, or to have run, in vain. This reached the ears of King Oswy and his son Alchfrid; for Oswy, having been instructed and baptized by the Scots, and being very perfectly skilled in their language thought nothing better than what they taught. But Alchfrid, having been instructed in Christianity by Wilfrid, a most learned man, who had first gone to Rome to learn the ecclesiastical doctrine, and spent much time at Lyons, with Dalfin, archbishop of France, from whom also he had received the ecclesiastical tonsure, rightly thought this man's doctrine ought to be preferred before all the traditions of the Scots. For this reason he had also given him a monastery of forty families, at a place called Rhypum; which place, not long before, he had given to those that followed the system of the Scots for a monastery; but forasmuch as they afterwards, being left to their choice, prepared to quit the place rather than alter their opinion, he gave the place to him, whose life and doctrine were worthy of it.

“ Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, above mentioned, a friend to King Alchfrid and to Abbot Wilfrid, had at that time come into the province of the Northumbrians, and was making some stay among them; at the request of Alchfrid, he made Wilfrid a priest in the monastery. He had in his company a priest whose name was Agatho. The controversy being there started, concerning Easter, or the tonsure, or other ecclesiastical affairs, it was agreed, that a synod should be held in the monastery of Streaneshalch, which signifies the Bay of the Light-house, where the Abbess Hilda, a woman devoted to God, then presided. The kings, both father and son, came thither, Bishop Colman with his Scottish clerks, and Agilbert with the priests Agatho and Wilfrid. James and Romanus were on their side; but the Abbess Hilda and her followers were for the Scots, as was also the venerable Bishop Cedd, long before ordained by the Scots, as has been

said above, and he was in that council a most careful interpreter for both parties. A. D. 664.

“King Oswy first observed, that it behoved those who served one God to observe the same rule of life; and as they all expected the same kingdom in heaven, so they ought not to differ in the celebration of the divine mysteries; but rather to inquire which was the truest tradition, that the same might be followed by all; he then commanded his bishop, Colman, first to declare what the custom was which he observed, and whence it derived its origin.

“Then Colman said,—‘The Easter which I keep I received from my elders, who sent me bishop hither; all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept it after the same manner; and that the same may not seem to any, contemptible or worthy to be rejected, it is the same which S. John the Evangelist, the disciple beloved of our Lord, with all the Churches over which he presided, is recorded to have observed.’

“Having said thus much, and more to the like effect, the king commanded Agilbert to show whence his custom of keeping Easter was derived, or on what authority it was grounded. Agilbert answered—‘I desire that my disciple, the priest Wilfrid, may speak in my stead; because we both concur with the other followers of the ecclesiastical tradition that are here present, and he can better explain our opinion in the English language, than I can by an interpreter.’

“Then Wilfrid, being ordered by the king to speak, delivered himself thus:—‘The Easter which we observe, we saw celebrated by all at Rome, where the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, lived, taught, suffered, and were buried; we saw the same done in Italy and in France, when we travelled through these countries for pilgrimage and prayer. We found the same practised in Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and all the world, wherever the Church of Christ is spread abroad, through several nations and tongues, at one and the same time; except only these and their accomplices in obstinacy, I mean the Picts and Britons, who foolishly, in these two remote islands of the world, and only in part even of them, oppose all the rest of the universe.’

“When he had so said, Colman answered, ‘It is strange that you will call our labours foolish, the example of so great an apostle, who was thought worthy to lay his head on our Lord’s bosom, when all the world knows him to have lived most wisely.’

A. D. 664.

“Wilfrid replied, ‘Far be it from us to charge John with folly, for he literally observed the precepts of the Jewish law, whilst the Church still Judaized in many points, and the apostles were not able at once to cast off all the observances of the law which had been instituted by God. In which way, it is necessary that all who come to the faith should forsake the idols which were invented by devils, that they might not give scandal to the Jews that were among the Gentiles. For this reason it was that Paul circumcised Timothy, that he offered sacrifice in the temple, that he shaved his head with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth; for no other advantage than to avoid giving scandal to the Jews. Hence it was, that James said to the same Paul, You see, brother, how many thousands of Jews have believed; and they are all zealous for the law. And yet, at this time, the Gospel spreading throughout the world, it is needless, nay, it is not lawful, for the faithful either to be circumcised, or to offer up to God sacrifices of flesh. So John, pursuant to the custom of the law, began the celebration of the feast of Easter, on the fourteenth day of the first month in the evening, not regarding whether the same happened on a Saturday or any other day. But when Peter preached at Rome, being mindful that our Lord arose from the dead, and gave the world the hopes of resurrection, on the first day after the Sabbath, he understood that Easter ought to be observed, so as always to stay till the rising of the moon on the fourteenth day of the first moon, in the evening, according to the custom and precepts of the law, even as John did. And when that came, if the Lord’s day, then called the first day after the Sabbath, was the next day, he began that very evening to keep Easter, as we all do at this day. But if the Lord’s day did not fall the next morning after the fourteenth moon, but on the sixteenth or the seventeenth, or any other moon till the twenty-first, he waited for that, and on the Saturday before, in the evening, began to observe the holy solemnity of Easter; thus, it came to pass, that Easter Sunday was only kept from the fifteenth moon to the twenty-first. Nor does this evangelical and apostolic tradition abolish the law, but rather fulfil it; the command being to keep the passover from the fourteenth moon, of the first month, in the evening, to the twenty-first moon, of the same month, in the evening; which observance all the successors of S. John in Asia, since his death, and all the Church throughout the world, have since followed; and that this is the true Easter, and the only one to be kept by the faithful, was not newly decreed by the Council of Nice, but only confirmed afresh; as the Church history informs us.’

“‘Thus, it appears, that you, Colman, neither follow the example of John as you imagine, nor that of Peter, whose traditions you knowingly contradict; and that you neither agree with the Law nor the Gospel in the keeping of your Easter. For John keeping the paschal time according to the decree of the Mosaic law, had no regard to the first day after the Sabbath, which you do not practise, who celebrate Easter only on the first day after the Sabbath. Peter kept Easter Sunday between the fifteenth and the twenty-first moon, which you do not, but keep Easter Sunday from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon; so that you often begin Easter on the thirteenth moon, in the evening, whereof neither the Law made any mention, nor did our Lord, the Author and Giver of the Gospel, on that day, but on the fourteenth, either eat the old passover in the evening, or deliver the sacraments of the New Testament, to be celebrated by the Church in memory of his Passion. Besides, in your celebration of Easter, you utterly exclude the twenty-first moon, which the Law ordered to be principally observed. Thus, as I said before, you agree neither with John nor Peter, nor with the Law nor the Gospel, in the celebration of the greatest festival.’

A. D. 664.

“To this Colman rejoined. ‘Did Anatolius, a holy man, and much commended in Church history, act contrary to the Law and the Gospel when he wrote that Easter was to be celebrated from the fourteenth to the twentieth? Is it to be believed that our most reverend father Columba and his successors, men beloved by God, who kept Easter after the same manner, thought or acted contrary to the Divine writings? Whereas there were many among them, whose sanctity is testified by heavenly signs and the working of miracles, whose life, customs, and discipline I never cease to follow, not questioning their being saints in heaven.’

“‘It is evident,’ said Wilfrid, ‘that Anatolius was a most holy, learned, and commendable man, but what have you to do with him since you do not observe his decrees? For he, following the rule of truth in his Easter, appointed a revolution of nineteen years, which either you are ignorant of, or if you know it, though it is kept by the whole Church of Christ, yet you despise it. He so computed the fourteenth moon in the Easter of our Lord, that, according to the custom of the Egyptians, he acknowledged it to be the fifteenth moon in the evening; so in like manner he assigned the twentieth to Easter Sunday, as believing that to be the twenty-first moon when the sun had set; which rule and distinction of his it appears

A. D. 664. you are ignorant of, in that you sometimes keep Easter before the full of the moon, that is on the thirteenth day. Concerning your father Columba and his followers, whose sanctity you say you imitate, and whose rules and precepts you observe, which have been confirmed by signs from heaven, I may answer, that when many on the Day of Judgment shall say unto our Lord that in his name they prophesied and cast out devils and wrought many wonders, our Lord will reply that He never knew them. But far be it from me that I say so of your fathers; because it is more just to believe what is good than what is evil of persons whom one does not know. Wherefore I do not deny those to have been God's servants, and beloved by Him, who with rustic simplicity, but pious intentions, have themselves loved Him. Nor do I think that such keeping of Easter was very prejudicial to them, as long as none came to show them a more perfect rule; and yet I do believe that they, if any catholic adviser had come among them, would have as readily followed his admonitions as they are known to have kept those commandments of God which they had learned and knew.

"But as for you and your companions, you certainly sin, if, having heard the decrees of the Apostolic See and of the universal Church, and that the same is confirmed by Holy Writ, you refuse to follow them; for, though your fathers were holy, do you think that their small number, in a corner of the remotest island, is to be preferred before the universal Church of Christ throughout the world? And if that Columba of yours, (and I may say ours also, if he was Christ's servant) was a holy man and powerful in miracles, yet could he be preferred before the most blessed prince of the Apostles, to whom our Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven?'

"When Wilfrid had spoken thus, the king said, 'Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord?' He answered 'It is true, O king!' Then says he, 'Can you show any such power given to your Columba?' Colman answered, 'None.' Then added the king, 'Do you both agree that these words were principally directed to Peter, and that the keys of heaven were given to him by our Lord?' They both answered, 'We do.' Then the king concluded, 'And I also say unto you, that he is the door-keeper, whom I will not contradict, but will, so far as I know and am able, in all things obey his decrees, lest, when I come to the

gates of the kingdom of heaven there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys.' The king having said this, all present, both great and small, gave their assent, and renouncing the more imperfect institution, resolved to conform to that which they had found to be the better.'^(a)

A. D. 664.

The disputation being ended and the company broken up, Agilbert returned home; and Colman finding himself neglected, and those of his party with their usages over-ruled, taking along with him such as would follow him, that is, those who refused to receive the general calculation of Easter and form of tonsure (for there was likewise much controversy about that), went back first to his church of Lindisfarne, and took along with him all the Scots that he had assembled there, with about thirty Englishmen, both the one and the other bred up to the monastic profession according to the Columbite discipline, and leaving only some of the brethren in the monastery, he went straight back to Ycolmkill, whence he had been sent at first, and there remained some years. Colman carried, likewise, along with him from Lindisfarne a part of the bones of the most reverend Bishop Aidan, and left the other part in that church where he had presided, ordering them to be buried in the chancel. By which we may observe the respect which the Columbite bishops had for the relics of the saints. Bede gives us here, upon occasion of Colman's retreat from Lindisfarne, the edifying account of the lives and conversation of this holy man and of the Scottish bishops, his predecessors, and of their Columbite disciples, particularly of their frugality, detachment, and spirit of poverty; all which I have already set down in the general description of their lives and manners. Bede adds that the whole time of the episcopacy of the Scots in the northern province of the English amounted to thirty years; whereof Aidan sat seventeen, Finan ten, and Colman only three years.^(b)

It is observable that Bede informs us and repeats more than once,^(c) (as if he had intended to make his readers take particular notice of it) that upon S. Colman and the Columbites' retreat, the pest, which had begun before to rage in the South, broke out in these northern parts and carried off many; among others Tuda,^(d) who, as we will see, was placed bishop of

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 25.

^(b) Ibid. lib. iii. c. 26.

^(c) Ibid. lib. iii. c. 27; lib. iv. c. 1.

^(d) Ibid. lib. iii. c. 27.

A. D. 664. Lindisfarne in Colman's room; and after Tuda's death the episcopal see of Lindisfarne was fourteen years without a proper bishop.^(a)

Meantime the issue of the conference of Streaneshaloh, and success of Wilfrid's victory, besides the retreat of Colman, made other great alterations as to the question of Easter and the tonsure, in all the northern parts of England, where, it appears, the generality of churchmen of all degrees came over to the common practice of the Churches abroad. Among others Bishop Cedd forsook the usages of the Scots, and being returned to his monastery died of the pest this same year. Eata, also, Abbot of Melrose, with Cuthbert, the Prior, and the other religious of that abbey, forsook also those usages of the Scots that were opposite to the general practice of the Church, to wit, those that concerned the calculation of Easter and the form of the tonsure; but continued to observe the Columbite rule and discipline upon other heads, since it appears that even long after this, when those of Lindisfarne had received first the rule of Bennet, they continued to observe that of S. Columba together with it: as we find the ancient monasteries of France, founded by S. Columban, after they had received S. Bennet's rule, continued for a long time to observe along with it that of S. Columban.

To Colman, in the see of Lindisfarne, succeeded Tuda, who had been instructed and ordained among the southern Scots, and, according to the custom of that province, having the ecclesiastical tonsure, and observing the catholic time of Easter. He was a good and religious man, and taught both by word and example what belonged to faith and truth. But he governed this Church only a short time, and died this same year of the pest. Bede continues: Eata that was Abbot of Melrose, a most reverend and meek man, was transferred to Lindisfarne and settled abbot over the brethren that chose to remain in that Church when the Scots went away. This, they say, Colman, being upon his departure, requested and obtained of King Oswy, who much loved Bishop Colman because of his singular discretion, for Eata was one of Aidan's twelve children of the English nation whom he made choice of, when he was first made bishop, to be educated and instructed in Christ. Eata, then, being translated to Lindisfarne brought Cuthbert along with him, and established him Prior of this monastery; that he might there also, by the authority of a Superior and his own example, instruct the brethren in the observation of a regular discipline.^(b)

^(a) Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 693.

^(b) Vita Cuth. c. xvi. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 27.

The holy man in this station was a perfect model of Superiors, particularly of communities, by accompanying his zeal for the reformation of abuses and advancement of those under his charge with a singular prudence, uniformity, and unwearied patience and meekness, of all which, the account that Bede has left us deserves the serious attention of all that are engaged in like employments.

A. D. 664.

There were, says Bede, in the monastery some who were attached to their imperfect old customs, and preferred them to the regular discipline that the holy man endeavoured to establish among them. These he endeavoured to gain over by his meekness and patience, and by his daily exhortations to bring them up to a more regular and perfect way of living. And it often happened in the assembly of the brethren, whilst he exhorted them to the observance of the rule, that some of the more refractory having, by their unbecoming language and contradiction, as it were wearied his patience, he would on a sudden rise up and with a sedate and calm countenance and disposition of mind dismiss the assembly and retire. And yet the very next day, on a new assembly, as if he had met with no contradiction the day before, would, with great calmness, resume the same purpose and repeat to them the same charitable admonition and exhortations, and thus by little and little he brought them all to reason and to comply with what he desired. For he chiefly excelled in the virtue of patience, and was invincible in bearing with courage all adversities of body or mind, preserving always an equanimity of temper and a serenity of countenance, even amidst the most grievous and cross accidents, by which it evidently appeared that it was by the inward consolation of the Holy Spirit that he surmounted and contemned all exterior pressures.

Nor was his zeal for the salvation of souls confined to those in the monastery, but how soon he had settled in it good order and exact discipline, he continued on here what he had begun at Melrose, to make excursions through the neighbouring countries, and by his frequent visits and exhortations to excite the inhabitants—among the meanest of the vulgar—to aspire and use all their endeavours to arrive at eternal happiness. And being now indued with the gift of miracles, he restored by his instant prayers to their wonted health, many that were tormented with different distempers. He delivered also some that were possessed with unclean spirits, not only while present to them by his touch, command, and exorcising, but even when at a distance from them he restored them by his prayers, or fore-

A. D. 664. told their being cured. Among others, one was the wife of Hildmer, a devout man, who was prefect to King Egfrid. He continued during all the time he was Prior of Lindisfarne, that is ten or twelve years, in the laborious exercises of making frequent circuits through the adjacent countries, especially in the southern parts of Scotland, instructing, baptising, and administering the sacraments to the inhabitants; but his heart being daily more and more set upon the love of a solitary life, at last he obtained licence of his abbot, Eata, to separate himself by degrees from all unnecessary conversation with men, and retired to the island of Farne, where he led a most mortified and penitential life in prayer, fasting, and watching, and was often sustained in a miraculous manner. ^(a)

To return to the other alterations in the state of the Church that followed upon the Conference of Streaneshalch, Wilfrid, who had been the chief actor in it, was chosen bishop of Northumberland, by the mutual consent both of the princes, clergy, and people. Says Eddius, in his Life; ^(b) And as to his consecration, Wilfrid, excepting against receiving it, either from British or Scottish bishops, as being either Quarto-decimans, or ordained by Quarto-decimans, upon his earnest request he was sent into France, by King Alchfrid, who reigned jointly with his father, Oswy, and recommended Wilfrid to the King of France, in order to receive his consecration from the Gallican bishops. It is worth observing, that the name of Quarto-decimans, that Eddius makes Wilfrid give to the Scottish and British bishops, cannot be understood, at least as to the Scots, as if they had celebrated Easter always on the fourteenth of the moon, whatever day of the week it happened (which was properly the error of the Quarto-decimans of Asia), since Wilfrid himself, in the Conference of Streaneshalch owns, as we have seen, that the Scots always celebrated Easter upon Sunday, and that their error or mistake lay chiefly in this, that when the fourteenth of the moon happened upon a Sunday, they did not transfer it to the following Sunday, as was the custom of the other Churches, but celebrated Easter that day, and so upon the same day with the Jews. By which expression of Wilfrid, if Eddius has not mistaken his meaning, we see how far the heat of dispute will sometimes drive otherwise great men to render their adversaries' opinion odious. Secundo—We may observe here, that at this time there were other Scottish as well as British bishops besides Colman. "Sunt

^(a) Vita Cuth. co. xvii.—xxii.

^(b) Eddius, c. xi.

hic in Britannia multi episcopi . . . ut Britones et Scoti,"^(a) as, no doubt, there were both among the Scots and Picts.

A. D. 665.

A. D. 665, Wilfrid being arrived in France, was there consecrated at Compiègne, with great pomp, as Bede and Eddius describe it.^(b) But upon Wilfrid's not returning home so soon as was expected, King Oswy pitched upon Ceadda, a disciple of S. Aidan, who had succeeded his brother, the holy Bishop Cedd, in the government of the Abbey of Lastingham, and sent him to be consecrated Bishop of York, to the South of Britain, where, finding the see of Canterbury vacant by the death of Archbishop Deusdedit, Ceadda received his consecration from Wini, who governed the bishoprick of London, assisted by British bishops. So, upon Wilfrid's return, finding the see of York full, he was obliged to return to his Abbey of Rippon, to expect better times; being, in the meantime, frequently invited by Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, and by Egbert, King of Kent, he went and performed the episcopal functions in their kingdoms.

And Ceadda, being thus consecrated Bishop of York, began immediately to apply himself to promote the doctrine of the Church, accompanying his preaching by the practice of chastity, humility, and continency, and set times for lecture or study; to travel about, not on horseback, but after the manner of the apostles, on foot, to preach the Gospel in towns and through the country—in the villages, cottages, and castles. For he had been one of Aidan's disciples as well as Bishop Cedd and his two other brothers, and all of them regulated their actions and behaviour upon Aidan's example and instructions, by which it appears that though Ceadda and the other Saxon Churchmen, bred up in the Columbite monasteries, had, for peace sake, after the Conference of Streaneshalch, conformed to the common discipline of the Church, concerning Easter and the tonsure, yet they continued in other matters, especially in their way of living and preaching, to observe the Columbite discipline.

Meantime, we may observe, by this disposition of ecclesiastical matters concerning Wilfrid and Ceadda that King Oswy, notwithstanding of his acquiescing in the universal practice of foreign Churches concerning Easter and the tonsure at the Conference of Whitby, which gave occasion to Bishop Colman's retreat, and to the other alterations that ensued in the Northumbrian Church, yet he still retained a warm side to the Columbites,

^(a) Ibid. c. xii.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 28. Eddius, c. xii.

A. D. 665. as he did to Bishop Colman, himself in particular, as Bede expressly remarks, and, therefore, favoured them in all that did not concern these two controverted heads of discipline; and it would appear also, that he entertained some grudge against Wilfrid, as having given occasion to those alterations, and though, at his death, according to Bede, King Oswy was perfectly reconciled to Wilfrid, yet it would appear by what we shall meet under his reign, that his son King Egfrid inherited the indisposition of his father against Bishop Wilfrid.

At the same time, we may observe all over the fondness and attachment that King Oswy's son Alchfrid, King of Deira, had for Wilfrid, and, as no doubt, the preference that the king his father gave to Ceadda, and the little regard he had to Wilfrid in not waiting his return from France, could not but grieve Alchfrid; all this could not fail of raising some dissension and grudges betwixt the father and son, which was one of the bad effects of the expulsion of the Scots Columbites from the Northumbrians who owed to them their Christianity, and seemed to deserve, that greater regard had been had to the sanctity of their lives which Bede so much commends, and to the signal services they had rendered to these northern inhabitants of England. But I would be very loath to impute, as Fordun does,^(a) to the jealousy or envy of the English Churchmen, the opposition and contradiction that obliged Bishop Colman and the Columbites to leave England and return home. However, as to Wilfrid's fast friend King Alchfrid, after this discussion we hear no more of him, and it appears by his younger brother Egfrid's succeeding immediately to King Oswy, that King Alchfrid died in his father's time.

A.D. 667. To Garnard, King of the Picts, succeeded his brother Drest or Durst, and reigned seven years. The same year Bishop Colman, who after his retreat from his bishoprick in Northumberland to Ycolmkill, had abode till now, that is three years, in that Abbey or among the Scots; for it appears by Bede,^(b) that he left Northumberland, A.D. 664, and went to Ycolmkill whence he had been at first sent bishop to the Northumbrians, and by the Chronicle of Ulster it appears that he went not from Ycolmkill till A.D. 667,^(c) and carried along with him part of the relics of the Saints which he had brought from Lindisfarne, as we observed,

^(a) Fordun, lib. iii. c. 2.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 4.

^(c) Ussher, Ant. Brit. p. 499. Bed. not. Smith, p. 146.

Colman being arrived with his disciples in Ireland, retired into a little island to the westward called Inisbofind, that is, the isle of the white calf. But shortly after, a dissension happening betwixt the Scots and English, Colman left his Scottish disciples in possession of the monastery of Inisbofind, and carried the English along with him to a place called Mayo, where he founded for them another monastery which continued to flourish in regular discipline till Bede's time. According to the same Chronicle of Ulster, Bishop Colman returned back to the monastery of Inisbofind, where he had settled his Scottish disciples, and there continued till his death, which happened A.D. 675.

A. D. 667.

A.D. 669. Theodore, a Grecian by birth, and a very learned man, was consecrated bishop at Rome, and sent to Britain, where he arrived the next year, to fill the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, which had been vacant four years. Theodore, soon after his arrival, made a progress through England, being accompanied by the Abbot Adrian sent along with him from Rome; and they were most willingly^(a) heard and entertained by all persons. He everywhere taught the right rule of life, and the canonical observation of Easter. He was likewise the first archbishop, to whom all the English Church submitted itself. And inasmuch as both Theodore himself and the Abbot Adrian were perfectly skilled as well in sacred as in secular literature, having a numerous corps of disciples, there daily flowed from them, says Bede, rivers of saving knowledge for watering the hearts of their hearers. They also delivered to them the arts of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic. From that time they began in all the English Churches to learn ecclesiastical music. In a word, Bede tells that there were never happier times than these since the English came to Britain. He adds, that Theodore visiting all parts, ordained bishops in proper places, and with their assistance corrected such things as he found faulty.

Among others, he challenged the holy Bishop Ceadda (who at that time, as we have seen, filled the metropolitan see of York), and objected to him that he had not been duly consecrated. The ground of this quarrel was probably that Bishop Ceadda had been consecrated by Wini and other bishops that did not follow the canonical form of Easter, or rather that he was ordained to a see to which Wilfrid had been previously

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 2.

A. D. 669.

electd. However, this holy man Ceadda answered Theodore's challenge with so great humility, that it surprised and satisfied him. If you know, said Ceadda to him, that I have not entered into this bishoprick aright, I willingly depart from the office, as having never thought myself worthy of it; but though unworthy, it was only out of obedience that I yielded to receive it. The Archbishop overcome with this humble answer, replied that it was not fit that he should quit the episcopal office, and therefore he again perfected his ordination after the Catholic manner, that is, he supplied any ceremony that might have been wanting according to the Roman rules; after which, Ceadda being now at liberty, retired according to his own wishes to his monastery of Lastingham, where he had not remained long, when upon the death of Jaruman, Bishop of the Mercians, Wulfhere their king, requested the Archbishop to appoint a bishop over his subjects, he would not ordain a new bishop, but desired King Oswy that Ceadda who was living quietly in his monastery might be given them for their bishop,^(a) he being now without an episcopal see; for Wilfrid, as we said, had been possessed of that of York and of all the Northumbrians, and even of the Picts, says Bede, as far as the empire of Oswy reached, that is, in the meaning of Bede, of those Picts who dwelt upon the south side of the friths, who, according to Bede, had been for some years in a kind of subjection to the more powerful Saxon monarchs.

Ceadda being thus appointed bishop of the Mercians, placed his episcopal seat at Lichfield, and took care to administrate his pastoral charge with great perfection of life, according to the example of the ancient fathers, that is, of the Columbite bishops, especially of S. Aidan, and accordingly following their example, he used to make his visits on foot; which the Archbishop Theodore observing and considering the extent of his diocese, and how precious his health and life was to the Church, he commanded him to ride whensoever he had a long journey to make, which Ceadda being very unwilling to do out of the spirit of mortification, the Archbishop himself lifted him up to his horse, because he found he was a holy man, and thus he made to Ceadda a kind of reparation for his harsh dealing towards him before he knew his true worth. The other particulars of Ceadda's holy and happy life may be seen in Bede at more length.^(b) He died in the year 672.

(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 3.

(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. id.

About this time Cuminus Albus, Abbot of Ycolmkill, died after twelve years' administration. We have already observed that he was author of the first account we have of S. Columba's life. He was succeeded by Failbeus, of whom Adamnan^(a) makes mention as being his immediate predecessor. Failbeus governed ten years. This same year, 669, died Malduin, King of the Scots. To him succeeded Ferchard, Second of that name, and twelfth king, surnamed Fada, that is, the long, son of Ferchard the First: of whom afterwards. All our ancient Chronicles give him twenty-one years of a reign, and place his reign after Malduin's, and not before it as the moderns have done. The next year, 670, died Oswy, King of Northumberland. Bede relates that, in his last sickness, he bore so great affection to the Roman and Apostolical usages, that had he recovered, he was resolved to go in person to Rome, and there to end his days at the holy places, having entreated Bishop Wilfrid to be his conductor in that journey.^(b)

A. D. 669.

To King Oswy succeeded his son Egfrid. But it is of some importance towards setting in due light the history of these times, to observe that besides this Egfrid, Oswy had two other elder sons, called Alchfrid and Aldfrid, who, because of the resemblance of their names, are by modern writers frequently confounded together, though they are in reality entirely different, and distinguished by their birth, characters, inclinations, and stations, and by all the marks that two brothers can be distinguished one from another. Alchfrid was eldest and lawful son to King Oswy, and his father gave him off a portion of his kingdom (it is like, Deira), to govern by him, and so he had the title of king during his father's lifetime, but did not survive him. He was the great friend, patron, and protector of Wilfrid. In his favour he took back from Eata and the Columbites the monastery of Rippon, and bestowed it upon Wilfrid; he was also a great stickler for him at the conference of Streaneshalch, and probably died soon after; at least we hear no more of King Alchfrid after that meeting.

Aldfrid was only a natural son to King Oswy, and upon his father's death, out of apprehension or jealousy of his brother Egfrid, who was younger and succeeded, he was forced to leave the country, and retired to Ycolmkill, where he had his education among the Scots, with whom for

^(a) Adamnan. lib. i. c. 3.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 5.

A. D. 670. that reason he ever afterwards entertained an amicable intercourse, as we will see, and particularly with Adamnan the Abbot.

I must not omit to take notice here of so rare an example of the love of virginal chastity, that the like is scarce to be met with in Church history, especially it being a question of a sovereign Princess, and of matter that passed in a monastery of Scotland. The fact is related by Bede. This King Egfrid, who succeeded to his father Oswy, King of Northumbria, had espoused Etheldred, daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles. This princess had been before married to another prince called Tondbert, and he dying soon after the marriage, left her a virgin. Accordingly she resolved to persevere in the same resolution, and being married again to Egfrid lived twelve years with him, and though he knew that she loved him beyond all others, yet such was her love to virginity, by an extraordinary gift of God, that he could never prevail to obtain her consent to live with him as married persons, and at last, after her perseverant solicitations, she obtained leave of him to retire to a monastery, which accordingly having granted at last with great reluctance, she entered the Abbey of Coldingham in Scotland, under the government of her aunt S. Ebba, and was afterwards made Abbess of another monastery, Ely, where she died and was buried; and as a token how acceptable her conduct was to God, Bede testifies that her body remained uncorrupted, and makes an eloge of her in verse as well as in prose.^(a)

This Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham, mentioned here, was daughter to Ethelfrid, King of the Northumbrians; and after his defeat and slaughter, she had with the rest of his children fled to the Scots, as has been elsewhere related, and being there instructed, baptised, and educated in the Christian Faith, upon her brother Oswald's recovering his kingdom, she came back with the rest of the royal family of the Northumbrians, during the time that S. Aidan was bishop, when by the fervour of the spirit of the perfection of Christianity, inspired to these northern inhabitants by the preaching of S. Aidan and our other Columbite bishops, religious, and churchmen, persons of the best families, made their nobility consist in devoting themselves wholly to the service of Christ. At that time many congregations both of men and women were spread through those parts of the island, severally embracing the spiritual warfare of our Lord,

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. c. 19, 20.

yea sometimes in the same place, persons of both sexes, men and virgins, under the government of one spiritual father or one spiritual mother, armed with the sword of the Spirit, did exercise the combats of chastity against the powers of darkness enemies thereto. Such was the monastery of the famous Hilda at Streaneshalch or Whitby. The institute and practice of these was imitated by S. Ebba, who in the flower of her youth, for the love of the Son of God, contemned whatsoever was great or desirable in the world, preferred the service of our Lord to secular nobility, spiritual poverty to riches, and voluntary abjection to honours.

A. D. 670.

Her first monastery is thought to have been a place called from her Ebbacester upon Derwentwater in the bishoprick of Durham, and from thence she was called to that of Coldingham in Scotland, in a place named by Bede the city of Colud (Coludi urbs).^(a) There she had the charge of a numerous congregation of men and women who had separate habitations, yet contiguous one to another, who, all united in one holy profession under the Columbite rule given them by S. Aidan, or S. Finan, with great joy and comfort, lived under her direction a long time with great regularity. It was into her monastery that the famous princess Etheldred retired and became her disciple, submitting herself to the rudiments of so great a mistress. S. Cuthbert also used, as we have seen, to visit S. Ebba; and for the instruction of those under her care of the one and other sex, he used to make for some days abode in the monastery, and had his instructions been carefully observed, the relaxation of discipline which happened in this monastery, even in S. Ebba's time, and the calamity that ensued after her death upon the inhabitants of that monastery, had, no doubt, been prevented. But of that afterwards in its proper place.

A.D. 673. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, had his first council of all England at Hertford, in which he endeavoured to settle Church discipline according to the ancient canons. I take notice the rather of it, that the canons of this council became a common rule of discipline of the Church of the Saxons, for the bishops, the clergy, and monks. We see by it that each bishop had his distinct district or diocese, and that it was resolved to augment the number of dioceses in proportion to that of the faithful. It is, also, to this archbishop that the first distribution of England into parishes is ascribed,^(b) and it is certain otherwise, that

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 19.

^(b) Spelman, Concil. tom. i. p. 162. Bed. Smith, p. 189.

A. D. 674. Theodore being one of the most learned of the bishops of his time, especially in the knowledge of the canons and discipline of the Church, put a new and more regular order in the Church of the Saxons, and rendered it more conformable to the ancient canons and to the best ordered Churches abroad.

A.D. 674. Happened the death of Drest or Durst, the sixth of that name, and fifty-eighth king of the Picts. We have an account of the occasion of his death from Eddius,^(a) the writer of S. Wilfrid's Life, where he recounts the prosperous successes that King Egfrid's enterprises were attended with, in the first years of his reign, whilst he favoured Bishop Wilfrid, but set down, as is all the rest of the work, more in an oratorian style (full of bitterness against Wilfrid's adversaries, and eulogies of his friends), than in that of a historian.

Thus then he goes on to relate King Egfrid's successes against the Picts. In the first years of his reign (that is, about this year 674, as appears by the circumstances of the time), whilst his affairs were not as yet fully settled, the Picts resolved to make use of the opportunity before King Egfrid's power increased, to shake off the subjection under which the Picts to the south of the friths had been brought by the powerful King Oswy his father, assembled a great army from their northern habitations to attack him with great ardour and fierceness. Which how soon King Egfrid was informed of, he instantly sent out against them a disciplined body of cavalry under the command of Bernhoeth, a courageous general, who having engaged battle with that undisciplined multitude, made so great a slaughter of them that two rivers, says Eddius, were filled with the bodies of the slain, and pursued the rest in their flight so narrowly, that great numbers were taken and remained in captivity under the Saxon yoke till the day that King Egfrid himself was overcome and killed by the Picts, A.D. 685: that is, this subjection lasted about ten years, when the Picts, under their next king had full revenge of their Saxon enemies. Among others of the Picts slain in this battle was their king Durst the Sixth as we said. His successor was the valiant King Brude or Bridei, one of the most powerful monarchs of Britain in his time: he was the son of Bili, and fourth king of the name of Bridei, and fifty-ninth king of the Picts, and reigned twenty-one years.

This same year, 674, the famous monastery of Weremouth or Jarrow,

(a) Vita Wilf. c. xix.

was founded by Benedict Biscop, who was the first that established the rule of S. Benedict in the monasteries, and from thence chiefly as well as by the zeal of Bishop Wilfrid, it was propagated by degrees through other monasteries in England. This same Abbot Benedict Biscop, a very active and industrious person, introduced glass work first to the island. He also brought along with him from France, architects for building of churches according to the rules of the art of architecture, grown in desuetude in the island since the Romans left it. A. D. 675.

A.D. 675. According to the Chronicle of Ulster, quoted by Bishop Ussher, ^(a) Colman (otherwise called Columbian), formerly Bishop of the Northumbrians, died among his Scottish disciples, in his monastery of Inisbofin, whither (after he had settled that of Mayo for his Saxon disciples), he had come back to pass the rest of his days in prayer, fasting, retreat, and in the exercises of religion. His memory was honoured in Scotland by an annual festival upon the eighteenth of February, the day of his death, as appears by the Kalendars of our Churches. We shall consider in its proper place the stories that our modern writers relate of Bishop Colman.

About this time, the holy man Cuthbert, Prior of Lindisfarne, retired to the solitary island of Farne to lead an anchoritic life. A.D. 678, a dissension falling out betwixt King Egfrid and Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, by the instigation chiefly of Queen Ermenburga, wife to King Egfrid, Wilfrid was removed from his seat, no doubt with the concurrence of Archbishop Theodore, who, in pursuance of the canon of the Council of bishops, in the province of York, at the same time ordained Bosa Bishop of the Deirians, whose seat was at York, and Eata for the Bernicians, having his Cathedral at Lindisfarne, whereof he had been settled Abbot. The reason given of this multiplication of bishops, was the decree of the Council of Hertford, and the too great extent of the diocese of York. There was another no less important reason, to wit, the order of Pope Gregory I., to augment to the number of twelve, the suffragans of York, in proportion to the increase of the number of the faithful in these parts, which was by this time come to pass, chiefly by the zeal and labours of the Scots Columbites, or those ordained and sent by them. But it appears not that, either Theodore or Wilfrid minded upon that decree of the Pope, or

^(a) Ant. Brit. p. 499.

A. D. 678. thus, looked upon it as obsolete. And we see, by frequent examples in the history of Britain, that the decrees of Rome, in matters of discipline, were not looked upon as binding, but in as far as they were conformable to the received discipline of each Church.

However, Wilfrid being thus, by secular power, countenanced by Archbishop Theodore's authority, forced from his see, went first into Friesland, thence through France to Rome, to crave justice of the Apostolical see to which he had appealed for redress of his grievances. He met with many dangers and difficulties in his voyage, but at last arrived safe at Rome, whilst Agatho, the Pope, was holding a Council of one hundred and twenty-five bishops, against the Monothelite heresy.^(a) Wilfrid's arrival had been prevented by a message from Archbishop Theodore, against him. However, he was himself at last called into the Council to be heard, and his cause being tried, and being acquitted, he was requested to make a confession and declaration, as well of his own faith, as of that of the several Churches of the island of Britain from whence he was come. Upon which, he made this declaration, which, says Bede, was inserted in the acts of this Roman Council in the following terms.

Wilfrid, the beloved of God, Bishop of the city of York, appealing to the Apostolical see in his cause, and being by that authority acquitted of certain and uncertain things, and seated in judgment with the other one hundred and twenty-five bishops in the Synod, made confession of the true and Catholic Faith, and subscribed the same in the name of all the Northern parts, to wit, the Isles of Britain and Ireland, which are inhabited by the nations of the English and Britons, and by those of the Scots and Picts, and in all their names made confession of the true and Catholic Faith, and corroborated it with his subscription.

By this authentic act and solemn declaration, made before the Pope and Council, we see, beyond all rational doubt, the conformity of all the inhabitants of Britain in general, and of the Scots and Picts in particular, in all matters of Catholic Faith, with the Church of Rome and other Churches of the Occident, assembled by their deputies in this Council at Rome. And no body could be better informed of the faith and doctrine of the Churches than Bishop Wilfrid, nor if the circumstances of the time be considered, any body more ready in all appearance to accuse, in

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 19.

particular the Scots in Britain, and especially the Columbites, of errors, in case they had dissented from the Roman and Catholic Church in any matter of faith, especially considering that the two bishops, whom in the Roman Synod he accused Theodore of having intruded on his diocese, were both bred Columbites, to wit, Bosa, created Bishop of York in his room, having been bred up in the Columbite monastery of Whitby or Streaneshalch, ^(a) and Eata made Bishop of Lindisfarne, one of the twelve chief disciples of S. Aidan. So that we have the orthodoxy, or conformity with the Catholic Church in all matters of faith, of the Scots and Picts in general, and Columbites in particular, avouched and confirmed by one of the greatest adversaries they had at this time, whose interest it was to have found them guilty.

However, as to the sentence obtained by Wilfrid, in his favour from the Pope and this Council, Theodore who had been made Archbishop, and sent to Britain by the Apostolic see, had so little regard to it, that far from putting it in execution, we shall just now see that he acted just a contrary part, and gave Wilfrid new subjects of dissatisfaction, almost upon the back of the favourable sentence he had obtained. And we do not find that Rome enacted any penalty against Theodore for his apparent disobedience. So true is it, what we have already observed, that in those days, for fear of augmenting of troubles, or giving occasion of schism, the Apostolical see, even after giving its judgment upon matters of discipline, referred to its tribunal, left the execution of its sentence to the prudence of the chief pastors upon the place, to be followed out in the manner the circumstances of persons and places required, towards cementing and preserving the peace of the Church, or procuring the essential advantage of the faithful, which visibly in the present case demanded an augmentation of the number of bishopricks in those Northern parts to the south side of the Friths. For supposing that the succession of the Bishops of Glasgow and Whithorn continued on to these times, which it is very probable they did, though we have no distinct account of the series of the bishops; yet it is visible, that the province of York, as well as other countries of the Saxons, being by the labours of our Scottish bishops, Aidan, Finan, and Colman, generally all become Christians, the order of the canons required an augmentation of bishops, in proportion to the multiplication of the

^(a) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 23.

A. D. 678. faithful and extent of the country. These, or such motives of his conduct, in regard to Bishop Wilfrid, no doubt the Archbishop Theodore sent to Rome by his deputies; and probably they were the chief reason why the Pope with the Council, though he acquitted Bishop Wilfrid of any accusations against his person, yet they did neither censure the conduct of Theodore, nor repeal the decree he had made for the multiplication of bishopricks, according as he and his Council found it necessary for the benefit of the faithful. The conduct of the Apostolic see towards Theodore on this occasion, and its forbearance with him, is a full answer to all that Mr. Collier alleges, by which he endeavours to show, that Aidan and our other Columbite bishops, their not submitting to the decrees of Rome about Easter, was a sign they did not own its authority; for nobody can doubt of Theodore's subjection to the Apostolic see, notwithstanding of his resistance to its decrees, in the case of Wilfrid.

A. D. 679. Failbeus, Abbot of Yeolmkill, after ten years of government, dying, the famous Adamnan, author of S. Columba's Life, succeeded, and ruled that Abbey twenty-five years. Of him we have already given account, and shall have as yet, more than once occasion to mention him. I shall only take notice here, that he is entirely to be distinguished from another Adamnan, of whom afterwards, an exemplary penitent, who lived at Coldingham, and foretold the punishment which was to fall upon that place.

A. D. 680. Died the famous Hilda, foundatrix and Superior of Streanes-halch or Whitby, and though nobody stood up more for the Columbites than this Abbess, yet none of her sex has a greater character from Bede, for he tells us she was a woman of such eminent prudence, that not only men of ordinary condition, but kings and princes also used to consult her and follow her counsel.^(a) Her monastery was double, and she had churchmen as well as virgins, in separate habitations, under her government; and such care she had to make her subjects diligent in reading the Scriptures, and exercising works of piety, that there were very many persons found there very fit for the ecclesiastical degree, and to serve at the altar. In a word, we have seen, says Bede, out of that one monastery no less than five bishops, all of them men of singular merit and sanctity; their names are Bosa, Hedda, Offfor, John, and Wilfrid the younger. For her piety and

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 23.

other excellent qualities, famous even among persons at a great distance from her, she was generally called by the name of Mother; and her life was not only a pattern to those that lived with her, but the fame of her prudence and virtue, became the instrument of the conversion and salvation to many that lived afar off from her.

A. D. 680.

Before her death, she was visited for the space of six years, with sharp and long infirmities, during all which time she never ceased to give thanks to her Maker, and publicly or privately to instruct the flock committed to her charge. In the midst of which prayers and exhortations having received the viaticum of the most holy Communion, she passed from death to life on the seventeenth of November, on which day her festival was celebrated in England.

I have dwelt the longer on this holy virgin, because that besides the eminent sanctity of her life, she not only governed her monastery by the Columbite rule, but distinguished herself all along by her attachment to our Columbite bishops, Aidan, Finan, and Colman; and though upon the other Saxon Christians, after the famous Conference held in her monastery, embracing the general practice of the Churches abroad as to the festival of Easter, it is like she also prudently yielded, yet she remained in all other respects attached to the spirit and discipline established in her monastery by S. Aidan and the other Columbite Scottish bishops. This was no doubt the source of the only blemish observed by the Saxon writers in Hilda's life, to wit, a perseverant indisposition to Bishop Wilfrid, the greatest adversary of the Columbites.

In effect, not only did S. Hilda declare herself against Wilfrid, A.D. 664, in the controversy about Easter, and was one of the chief defenders of Bishop Colman and the Columbite cause, but Malmesbury gives us a letter of Pope John VI., A.D. 705, to King Ethelred, by which that Pope informs us that the Abbess Hilda was one of those that wrote against Bishop Wilfrid to the Apostolic see. But she was not the only one, since Malmesbury marks in the same place, that Theodore and Berthwald, Archbishops of Canterbury, John of Beverley, and Bosa of York, all of them acknowledged for Saints, wrote to the Pope against Wilfrid^(*). S. Hilda was succeeded in the government of the monastery of Whitby, by Elfled, sister to King Egfrid, who had been by her father, King Oswy, consecrated to God in that monastery, as we have seen from her infancy.

(*) Malmesb. fol. 151, et Eddius, c. lii.

A. D. 681.

A. D. 681. That is three years after Bishop Wilfrid's expulsion, or rather retreat, and notwithstanding the sentence passed in his favour in the Roman Council, Theodore continuing in the same resolution of augmenting the number of the bishopricks in England, which, it must be owned, was very canonical in itself, far from laying aside those whom he had ordained in the province of York, augmented their number by consecrating Tunbert for the seat of Hexham, the Bishop Eata reducing himself to that of Lindisfarne; and Trumwine he made Bishop for the Southern province of the Picts, ⁽¹⁾ which, at that time, happened to be subjected to the dominion of the English. By this province of the Picts is, without doubt, meant the Pictish possessions to the south of the Friths so often mentioned; and, accordingly, this Bishop Trumwine's seat was upon the south of the Frith at Abercurnig, still known by the name of Abercorn, where he had erected a monastery for his own retreat after his labours, and for breeding up churchmen for the service of these Picts of the south side of these Friths. As to the Picts of the North, as we do not find that he exercised any authority over them (no more than Wilfrid had done before him), because the Picts of the North, as we have seen before, had bishops of their own; and besides, they retained still as yet their own discipline and usages concerning Easter and the tonsure, as we will see they did for about thirty years after this in King Naitan's time, who, though their own native king, had great difficulty to oblige them to part with them. This attachment of the Picts to their own ancient usages, would have rendered Trumwine or any of the Saxon bishops very unacceptable to them, and by consequence useless. And if we may judge, by what happened four years afterwards, it is like he could promise no security to himself among them, being forced upon them by a declared adversary. Accordingly, how soon, by the victorious arms of their valiant King Brude the Fourth, they recovered their liberty, Bishop Trumwine, finding no security among them for his own person, left instantly his monastery, deserted his flock, and made the best of his way to England.

A. D. 683. Upon the twenty-third of August, deceased Ebba, first of that name, Abbess of Coldingham, in Scotland. We have already had occasion, more than once, to mention her. One of the last actions she did, was to obtain the liberty of Bishop Wilfrid, kept prisoner by her nephew, King

⁽¹⁾ Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 12.

Egfrid. She lived to a very great age, which, no doubt, gave occasion to the relaxation of the discipline of her convent, which, though she failed not to put order to it, how soon she was advertised, augmented after her death to the degree of drawing heavy judgment upon her monastery. Some years after her death, this monastery of Coldingham was burnt down by carelessness, or rather by a just judgment of God upon the wickedness of those that dwelt in it.

A. D. 683.

We have the account of this calamity from Bede, who was born not far from the place, and though, at the time it happened, he was very young; yet he had the relation of it from a holy priest, who was actually dwelling in Coldingham at the time the monastery was burnt. Wherefore, it being a remarkable example of the instability of human establishments, and containing a singular example of a true penitent, and the whole having passed in a monastery of Scotland, I cannot omit to set it down, and that in Bede's own words.

"About these times," says Bede, "the monastery of virgins called the city of Coludi, above mentioned, was burned down through carelessness; and yet all that know the same, might observe that it happened through the malice of those who dwelt in it, and chiefly of those who seemed to be the greatest. But there wanted not a warning of the approaching punishment from the Divine Goodness, by which they might have stood corrected; and by fasting, prayers, and tears, like the Ninevites, have averted the anger of the just Judge.

"There was in that monastery, a man of the Scottish race called Adamnan, leading a life entirely devoted to God in continence and prayer, insomuch that he never took any food or drink, except only on Sundays and Thursdays; but often spent whole nights in prayer. This austerity of life he had first adopted from necessity, to correct his evil propensities; but in process of time, the necessity became a custom.

"For in his youth he had been guilty of some wicked action, for which, when he came to himself, he conceived extraordinary horror, and dreaded lest he should be punished for the same by the upright Judge. Repairing therefore to a priest, who he hoped might show him the way of salvation; he confessed his guilt, and desired to be advised how he might avoid the future wrath of God. The priest having heard his offence, said, 'A great sore requires much attention in the cure; and, therefore, give yourself up as far as you are able to fasting, reading of Psalms, and prayer; to the end

A. D. 683. that thus preventing the wrath of our Lord in confession, you may find Him merciful.' Being highly affected with the grief of a guilty conscience, and desiring as soon as possible to be loosed from the inward fetters of sin which lay heavy upon him, he answered, 'I am young in years, and strong of body, and shall, therefore, easily bear whatever you shall enjoin me to do, so that I may be saved in the day of our Lord: though you should command me to spend the whole night in prayer standing, and to pass the whole week in abstinence.' The priest replied, 'It is too much for you to hold out the whole week without bodily sustenance; but it is sufficient to fast two or three days; do this till I come again to you in a short time, when I will more fully show you what you are to do, and how long to continue your penance.' Having so said, and prescribed the measure of his penance, the priest went away, and upon some sudden occasion passed over into Ireland, whence he derived his origin; and returned no more to him as he had appointed. Remembering this injunction and his own promise, he totally addicted himself to tears, penance, holy watching, and continence; so that he only fed on Thursdays and Sundays as has been said; and ate nothing all the other days of the week. When he heard that his priest was gone to Ireland, and had died there, he ever after observed that same abstinence according to his direction; and as he had begun that course through the fear of God, in penitence for his guilt, so he still continued the same unremittingly for the Divine love, and in hope of his reward.

"Having practised this carefully for a long time, it happened that he had gone on a certain day to a distance from the monastery, accompanied by one of the brothers; and as they were returning from this journey, when they drew near to the monastery and beheld its lofty buildings, the man of God burst into tears, and his countenance discovered the trouble of his heart. His companion perceiving it, asked what was the reason, to which he answered; 'The time is at hand when a devouring fire shall consume all the structures which you here behold, both public and private.' The other on hearing these words, as soon as they came into the monastery, told them to Ebba, the Mother of the congregation. She with good cause, being much concerned at that prediction, called the man to her, and narrowly inquired of him how he came to know it. He answered, 'Being busy one night lately in watching and singing Psalms, I, on a sudden, saw a person unknown standing by me, and being startled by his presence, he bade me

not to fear, and speaking to me in a familiar manner, 'You do well,' said he, 'in that you spend this night-time of rest, not in giving yourself up to sleep, but in watching and prayer.' I answered, 'I know I have great need of wholesome watching, and earnest praying to our Lord to pardon my transgressions.' He replied, 'You are in the right, for you and many more do need to redeem their sins by good works, and when they cease from labouring about temporal affairs, then to labour the more eagerly for the desire of heavenly goods. But this very few do; for I having now visited all this monastery regularly, have looked into every one's chambers and beds, and found none of them, except yourself, busy about the care of his soul; but all of them, both men and women, either indulge themselves in slothful sleep, or are awake in order to commit sin; for even the cells that were built for praying or reading are now converted into places of feasting, drinking, talking, and other delights; the very virgins dedicated to God, laying aside the respect due to their profession, whensoever they are at leisure, apply themselves to weaving fine garments, either to use in adorning themselves like brides, to the danger of their condition, or to gain the friendship of strange men; for which reason a heavy judgment from heaven is deservedly ready to fall on this place and its inhabitants by devouring fire.' The Abbess said, 'Why did you not sooner acquaint me with what you knew?' He answered, 'I was afraid to do it out of respect to you, lest you should be too much afflicted: yet you may have this comfort, that the calamity will not happen in your days.' This vision being divulged abroad, the inhabitants of that place were for a few days in some little fear, and leaving off their sins began to punish themselves; but after the Abbess's death they returned to their former wickednesses—nay, they became more wicked; and when they thought themselves in peace and security, they soon felt the effects of the aforesaid judgment.

"That all this fell out thus, was told me by my most reverend fellow-priest Edgils, who then lived in that monastery. Afterwards, when many of the inhabitants had departed thence on account of the destruction, he lived a long time in our monastery, and died there. We have thought fit to insert this in our History, to admonish the reader, of the works of our Lord, how terrible He is in his counsels on the sons of men, lest we should at some time or other indulge in the pleasures of flesh, and, dreading the judgment of God too little, fall under his sudden wrath, and either be

A. D. 683. severely afflicted with temporal losses, or else, being more severely tried, be snatched away to eternal perdition." ^(a)

Thus, Bede; to which add the History of Durham, printed under Simeon of Durham's name; but which the learned agree is truly the work of Turgot the Prior, who became afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews. This author tells that S. Cuthbert, who lived retired in Farne at this time, being promoted not long after this accident to the episcopal degree, entirely separated from his religious all society of women, for fear any then alive, or any of their successors, might after the aforesaid manner provoke the wrath of God against them. By the general consent, therefore, of all of both sexes, he, both for present and future time, interdicted to his monks any conversation with women, wholly forbidding them any entrance into his church. And, therefore, in the isle of the episcopal see, he built a church apart, where women were to come to hear mass and instructions, that they might never come nearer the monastery.

This monastery was rebuilt, and continued a retreat for religious women till A.D. 870, when another Ebba being Abbess, she, with her religious sisters under her care, suffered martyrdom from the Danes for preservation of their chastity, as we shall see in its proper place.

A.D. 684. Egfrid, King of the Northumbrians, invaded Ireland; and notwithstanding the earnest entreaty of the holy man Egbert, who represented that the Irish had done him no hurt, sent an army, under the command of Beort, into that island, which miserably wasted, says Bede,^(b) that harmless people, who had always been affectionate to the English; yet so furious was the rage of this army, that neither churches nor monasteries were spared. The natives, according to their ability, repelled force by force, and withal, by earnest prayers, solicited the assistance of heaven, at the same time using many imprecations against their enemies; and, although those that use bitter language and cursing shall be excluded the kingdom of heaven, yet it was believed that the English and King Egfrid who, by their impieties, deserved such curses, by the just judgment of God did not long escape their due punishment, as we shall see next year. Our modern writers pretend that this invasion, made by King Egfrid's troops, was upon the Scots in Galloway; but this is against the formal testimony of Bede, and has not so much as Fordun to authorise them.

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 25

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 26.

Egbert here mentioned is the same who became afterwards so famous among the Scots, and therefore deserves that we give account of him now at large. He was by birth a Saxon, of a noble family of the Northumbrians, who, being converted to Christianity in the time of the Bishops Finan or Colman, went with many other Saxons to Ireland, to be more fully instructed, where he was living retired with his brother Edilhum and many others, in the monastery called Rathmelfigi.

This same year, towards the winter, in a great Synod held at Twyford, upon the river Aln, King Egfrid being present, and the Archbishop Theodore President of the Synod, Cuthbert, who was retired in his solitude of Farne island, was, by the unanimous consent of all, chosen Bishop of Hexham. But there being no drawing Cuthbert from his monastery by many letters and messengers sent to him, at last King Egfrid himself, with the Bishop Trumwine and other religious and great men, passed over into the Island. Many also of the brothers of the same isle of Lindisfarne assembled together to the same purpose; all of them by tears and conjuring him in the name of our Lord, engaged him to come to the Synod, where he continued to make all the opposition he was able to his promotion, well remembering the maxim of the great Gregory concerning the engaging into the weighty burthen of the Episcopal charge,—*virtutibus plenus coactus accedat, virtutibus vacuus nec coactus*,—he did not yield till, by the perseverant unanimous consent of all the Synod, and the order of all that had authority over him, he saw no possibility of resisting longer, without disobeying Almighty God. Thus he was at last overcome, and compelled to submit to the formidable burthen laid upon him. However, his consecration was put off till after winter. It was performed at Easter following, in the city of York, and in the presence of the aforesaid King Egfrid; seven bishops meeting together, and Archbishop Theodore, their head. Cuthbert was first, as we said, elected Bishop of Hexham in the place of Tunbert, who had been deposed from the episcopal dignity by the same Theodore who had three years before installed him in it.

But in regard that Cuthbert chose rather to be placed over the Church of Lindisfarne, near his beloved retreat at Farne, Eata returned to the Church of Hexham, and left that of Lindisfarne to Cuthbert.

This same year, a short while after the consecration of S. Cuthbert, happened the famous victory of the Picts over King Egfrid and the Saxons, which gave a fatal blow to the kingdom of the Saxons in Nor-

A. D. 685. thumberland, and by which they lost all that their most powerful kings had gained over the Picts. Thus it is described by Bede:—King Egfrid rashly leading his army to ravage the province of the Picts, much against the advice of his friends, and particularly of S. Cuthbert, who had foretold to his sister Elfleda, Abbess of Whitby, the disaster that he was threatened with if he engaged in that expedition; the Picts, commanded by their King Brude, making show as if they fled, King Egfrid, pursuing them with his army, was drawn into the straits of inaccessible mountains and slain, with the greatest part of his forces which he had led on, in the fortieth year of his age, and fifteenth of his reign. This victory was gained by the Picts upon the eighteenth of May, and at a place, as Simeon of Durham or Turgot tells us, called Nectan's mere; and he adds that his body was taken care of, and sent to be honourably buried in Ycolmkill, the common burial place of the kings of the Picts and Scots.

From this time, says Bede, the hopes and strength of the English crown began to decay and fade; for the Picts recovered their own lands which had been held by the English,—that is, the Pictish possessions in Lothian and other territories to the south of the Forth, which, as we have seen, some of the more powerful of the English kings, such as Oswald and Oswy, according to Bede, had possessed themselves of, and kept in subjection the ancient Pictish inhabitants of those parts: for we nowhere find in any ancient writer that ever the Saxon kings possessed a foot of ground to the north of the Friths. By consequence what Bede adds, that by this victory and downfall of the power of the Northumbrian kings, not only the Picts but the Scots also, and some of the Britons, recovered their liberty; this, I say, can be only meant of those Scots who, especially from the time of Aidan, one of their most powerful kings, had possessed themselves of some of the territories to the south of the Clyde, amidst the Britons of those parts, but that afterwards, during the reign of King Donald Breac, having transgressed the injunctions given them by S. Columba not to hurt or invade those of his family in Ireland, they had deserved, in a great measure, the punishment which he had threatened them with—with a decay of their power and courage, and by that, from Donald Breac's time till now their acquisitions to the south side of the Clyde had been overrun and curtailed by some of the more powerful of the Saxon kings; but by this defeat of King Egfrid they had begun to recover again, but suffered as yet still a diminution of their former valour

and power, as appears by the heavy lamentation which the Abbot Adamnan, A. D. 685. who wrote about these times, makes of their present circumstances.

In short, what Bede says here of the Picts, Scots, and Britons recovering their lands and liberties upon King Egfrid's death and defeat, has relation to what he had elsewhere mentioned more than once of the triumphs of some powerful kings—viz., Edwin, Oswald, Oswy—over the nations; ^(a) all which, by this one victory of the Picts was sunk and faded away, the province of Lothian and other parts to the south of the Forth reunited to the Pictish monarchy, and the Saxon inhabitants in these parts were either killed or forced to submit to the dominion of the Picts, or, leaving the country, to fly into England. Among others of those that fled was Trumwine, ^(b) settled by Archbishop Theodore Bishop of the Southern Picts. He withdrew with all his followers that were in the monastery of Abercorn, where he had fixed his habitation, and which is seated in the country which the English were then in possession of, and which, for that reason, Bede calls the country of the English, but close by an arm of the sea, to wit, the Frith of Forth, which parts those territories that had been possessed by the English and the ancient kingdom of the Picts or Caledonia. It appears, by Trumwine's sudden retreat with all his retinue, upon the Picts recovering their dominions to the south of the Forth, that his being placed Bishop among them was against the grain of the Picts; and being joined with Archbishop Theodore's endeavouring to extend his metropolitan power over them, was looked upon by them as a part of the Saxon yoke, which, having now by their valour shaken off as to civil jurisdiction, and, having bishops of their own to answer all needs of the faithful, they were resolved to abolish all marks, of whatever nature, of their dependence upon the Saxons. Trumwine was, no doubt, apprized of this temper of the Picts, and, therefore, how soon they became again masters of these territories to the south of the Friths, where he had his seat, he suddenly abandoned all, and, with his followers, made quickly for England, where, having recommended his disciples, wheresoever he could, to the monasteries of his friends, he chose his own place of residence in the often-mentioned monastery of Streaneshalch—Whitby—composed of men and women; and there he led a life in all monastic austerities, not only to his own, but to the benefit of many; and dying there, he was buried in the Church of S.

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 5.

^(b) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 26.

A. D. 685. Peter the Apostle, with the honour due to his life and rank. The royal virgin, Ælfled, who had succeeded to Hilda, with her mother Eanflæd, then presided over that monastery, but the Bishop coming thither the devout Abbess found in him extraordinary assistance in governing, and comfort to herself.

To King Egfrid, in the Northumbrian throne, succeeded Aldfrid, his natural brother, and son to King Oswy, who, though he was the elder brother, yet because he was not lawfully begotten, was rejected by the Northumbrians, and Egfrid preferred to the crown, upon which he retired to Scotland, either by force or by fear, and there remained in Yoolmkill, where he applied himself to the study of letters, and became so accomplished a prince, that, upon his brother Egfrid's death, and the disasters following upon it, the Northumbrians with no less ardour invited him home to fill the throne, than they formerly rejected him. He returned then, and took upon him the government of the Northumbrian kingdom, reduced now into narrower bounds, especially towards the north, by the Picts repossessing Lothian, and their other ancient dominions to the south of the Friths.

It is from the first author of S. Cuthbert's Life, who wrote during King Aldfrid's reign, that we learn that the place of King Aldfrid's retreat (which Bede calls ^(a) the Scottish Islands, "in insulis Scotorum," and Malmesbury calls "Hibernia") was really Yoolmkill. For thus that anonymous contemporary author speaks: "Aldfrid, son of Oswy, who now reigns, was at this time (A.D. 684) in the Island called Hy." ^(b) Thus we see that it was usual to the exactest writers to confound Scotland with Ireland in these times, when the name Scotia, and, as appears by this passage of Malmesbury and others, even the name Hibernia was common to both.

It was in this abode of Aldfrid, among the learned men of Yoolmkill, that this prince became so great a proficient in morality, in government, and all kind of learning, that his countrymen judged none was more fit to save the remains, and heal the wounds, of a broken state left by Egfrid.

It was also from this abode in that Island, where Adamnan was abbot at the time, that nobody was thought by his countrymen more proper to be twice sent in embassy to King Aldfrid than Adamnan; in one of which

^(a) Vita Cuth. p. 247.

^(b) Act. Bolland. tom. iii. Martii, p. 121.

embassies, he presented to that king, as a learned prince, his book of the description of the Holy Land. But of this afterwards. A. D. 686.

A.D. 686. Deceased Eata, one of the last of the Columbite Bishops of England. He was one of the twelve Saxon children whom S. Aidan, upon entry into the Northumbrian territories, had made choice of to instruct them in the doctrine of Christ, and to breed them up for the service of the Church. Having embraced the religious state, which, according to the Columbite usages, was joined to that of the clergy, he was afterwards made Abbot of Melrose; had first Boisil, and after him Cuthbert, for his Prior, who, after the Conference of Whitby, having embraced the common rule of Easter, came with him to Lindisfarne, and exercised there the same function. Upon the dissension of King Egfrid and Wilfrid, new bishopricks being erected by Theodore in the diocese of York, Eata was made Bishop of Lindisfarne and of Hagulstad; and, at last by the election of Tunbert for Hagulstad, Eata confined himself to Lindisfarne. But (A.D. 684) Tunbert being deposed, and Cuthbert, the newly-elected bishop, preferring the see of Lindisfarne because of his solitude of Farne to that of Hagulstad, Eata, leaving that of Lindisfarne to Cuthbert, went back to Hagulstad. Such was the holy temper, and humble disposition, and detachment, which this holy man had received from his Columbite education, that he was always disposed to sacrifice his own satisfaction to that of others, and to the peace and edification of the Church. Minding only the service of God, and the advantage of the faithful, he was indifferent in whatever station Superiors thought he could most advantageously contribute to it. Eata passed in Hagulstad the two last years of his life, administering with piety and zeal his episcopal functions, till at last our merciful Lord resolving to crown his labours, he was struck with a dysentery, by the torments of which he was purified and prepared to pass into eternal happiness, as he did upon the seventh of May this year. His successor in Hagulstad was John, surnamed of Beverley, of whose sanctity and miracles Bede gives account. ^(a)

S. Cuthbert, to whom Eata resigned the see of Lindisfarne, entered his pastoral charge soon after his consecration at Easter, A.D. 685, as we have seen, and following, says Bede, ^(b) the example of the Apostles, became an ornament to the episcopal dignity by his virtuous actions. For

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cc. 2, 3, 4. &c.

^(b) Ibid. lib. iv. c. 28.

A. D. 686. he both protected the people committed to his charge by prayer, and excited them by most wholesome exhortations to heavenly practices, and, which is the greatest duty of pastors, he showed in his own life and behaviour the example of what was to be performed by others. For he was, in the first place, wholly influenced with the fire of charity, modest in the virtue of patience, most assiduous and ardent in prayer, affable to all that came to him for comfort, being persuaded that, to afford the infirm brethren the help of his exhortations was no less acceptable to God than prayer, well knowing that he who said "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," said, likewise, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." He was also remarkable for penitential abstinence, and always intent upon heavenly things, through the grace of compunction. In fine, when he offered up to God the sacrifice of the saving Victim, he paid his vows to God not only with his voice, but with tears flowing from a heart thoroughly touched. These were the dispositions with which this holy bishop was animated. So it was no wonder that they were attended with a course of miracles during all the short time of his episcopal administration, which extended to those parts of Scotland that lie to the south of the Friths. For it appears that many of the inhabitants of these parts were, during these times, and long afterwards, under the direction of the Bishops of Lindisfarne and Hexham; and this lasted till the restoration of the see of Whithern. For the Southern Picts and other inhabitants of these parts being now at full liberty, and rid of the Saxon yoke, submitted willingly to be governed by S. Cuthbert and the other bishops in the neighbourhood, when they found them seeking nothing but the salvation of their souls; whereas they were impatient, as we have seen, under the administration of Trumwine, though he was himself a good religious bishop; but his being imposed by King Egfrid, an enemy, and Archbishop Theodore, made him odious to them; whereas nothing of that kind could be objected to Cuthbert. His episcopal seat was at Lindisfarne in England, and it was only his charity and zeal for their souls that engaged him to exercise his episcopal functions in the adjacent province of the Picts, where his ministry was wanted, the Picts having no bishop of their own on that side of the Friths. Accordingly we find S. Cuthbert often in these parts, as appears by the account that Bede has left ^(a) of his miracles whereof one of the first was wrought

^(a) Vita Cuth. c. xxv.

A. D. 686.

at his returning home from Melrose, where he had gone to confer with Bishop Eata, upon a servant of a nobleman who was cured by drinking a mouthful of the infusion of holy water blessed by S. Cuthbert. About the same time, being at Carlisle near the borders of Scotland, he foretold the defeat and death^(a) of King Egfrid the moment it happened. Being come to the same place soon after, for making ordination and giving the monastic habit to the Queen Ermenburga, widow of King Egfrid, he obtained of God to his beloved friend and disciple, Herbert, that he should not outlive him. It appears by what Bede relates of the conversion of these two holy men, that Herbert was wont to make to S. Cuthbert, every time they happened to meet, a private confession of all his faults and failings. In the same parts likewise, by holy water, he restored to perfect health the wife of a Count who lay a-dying. Others he healed by blessed oil. (c) The pestilence raging everywhere this year and carrying off great multitudes, did not hinder S. Cuthbert from making his usual episcopal visits and circuits all around, with so much the greater zeal^(d) that being admonished from heaven that his death was approaching, and resolved to retire to his beloved solitude of Farne, to prepare himself by prayer and other pious exercises for meeting it with greater confidence, he began by making a general visit, not only of all his own district, which included Lothian and the other southern provinces of Scotland, but of all the adjacent parts, exhorting and animating, by the fervour of his discourses, the faithful everywhere, and confirming his doctrine by curing the sick, and many other miracles set down by Bede in his Life. Among other places to which he extended his pastoral care, was the monastery of Tynningham in Lothian, which formerly, says Bede, was a convent of men, when Cuthbert, as yet a child, had miraculously obtained of God the preservation of the barks and men belonging to the monastery;^(e) but as vicissitudes happen by length of time, it was in Bede's days changed into a noble congregation of virgins devoted to Christ. Of this monastery Verca was then Abbess, a lady of great quality and of so eminent piety, that Cuthbert, to testify the respect he had for her,^(f) caused preserve a piece of linen, whereof she had made him a present, to serve him for a winding-sheet; and accordingly, upon

(a) Vit. Cuth. c. xxvii.

(b) Ibid. c. xxviii.

(c) Ibid. c. xxxii.

(d) Ibid. c. xxxiv.

(e) Ibid. c. iii.

(f) Ibid. c. xxxvii.

A. D. 686. the approach of death, he ordered his body to be wrapt in the linen which the Abbess Verca, beloved of God, had sent him. In this monastery, Cuthbert changed water into excellent wine, as Bede was assured by one present at the time, who had tasted it.

After this visit, being returned to his seat of Lindisfarne, after putting order to all that belonged to his charge, he at last retired to his beloved solitude of Farne Island, from which he had been, two years before, as it were torn away by force of authority and obedience, and after which he had still breathed, amidst the toils, labours, and solitudes of his episcopal administration.

We have, in his *Life* by Bede, an account from Herefride, Abbot of Lindisfarne under S. Cuthbert's direction, who was present, of the holy man's last sickness, death, and burial, which, in short, was, that being retired to his solitude of Farne, a short while after Christmas, about the beginning of A.D. 687, and after passing there two months in retreat, prayer, and mortification, he fell suddenly sick; and, being at his own earnest desire left all alone, he suffered exceedingly during five days that the tempestuous weather hindered all approach of barks to the rock where he lay. At last, the Abbot returning found him reduced to extremity by sickness and faintness. Having first recommended to his disciples, as his last will, the preservation of peace, humility, hospitality, particularly unity with all the rest of the Church in the lawful observation of Easter, the canons and rules of the holy Fathers, and the regular discipline that he had established in the monastery; and then, having fortified his passage out of the world by the holy Sacraments, to wit, the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, which the Abbot Herefride administered to him, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he rendered up his soul to God during the nocturnal Office, the twentieth of March, 687. His body, as he had permitted at the earnest desire of the brethren, was carried back to Lindisfarne, and with great solemnity buried there in a stone chest, in S. Peter's Church, and remained uncorrupted. Bede relates that " Divine Providence, wishing to make more extensively known the great glory in which this Saint lived after death, whose exalted life previous to death was distinguished also by frequent miraculous signs, put it into the minds of the brethren, eleven years after his interment, to raise his bones, which they thought should be found dry, and the rest of the body by this time wasted away and reduced to dust, as happens with the dead;

and, in order to testify their becoming veneration, to place them, after being laid in a light coffin, in the same spot, but above the pavement. When, about the middle of Lent, they informed Eadbert, their Bishop, of this their resolution, he acceded to their design, and gave orders that they should see to it that this was done on the day of his death, which was on the thirteenth before the Kalends of April. Accordingly they did so; and, on opening the grave, they found the whole body uncorrupted, as if he were still alive, and, in the flexibility of the joints of the limbs, much liker a sleeping than a dead person; and all the vestments, also, in which the body had been wrapped up, appeared not only uninjured, but also with their first freshness, and wonderfully white. When the brethren saw this, they were instantly struck with such excessive fear and trembling, that they scarcely dared to speak, or look upon the miracle thus disclosed, and hardly knew what they were doing.

A. D. 687.

“To give proof that there was no corruption, having taken off his outer vestments (for they were extremely afraid to touch what was next his flesh), they hastened to relate what they had found, to the Bishop, who then happened to be living in solitude in a place lying at some distance from the monastery, and surrounded on all sides by the ebbing waves of the sea: for in this place he was wont always to spend the time of Lent, and to pass forty days before Christmas, in devoting himself earnestly to fasting, prayer, and weeping; and in this place, also, his venerable predecessor Cuthbert, before he retired to Farne, was for some time in the way of serving the Lord in solitary retirement, as we have stated before. And they brought with them, also, part of the vestments which had been wrapped round the holy body. While thankfully receiving these gifts, and gladly hearing of the miracles (for he even kissed, with marvellous feeling, the garments, as if they still enveloped the body of the Father), he said, ‘Wrap new garments round the body instead of those you have brought, and so replace it in the coffin which you have prepared. And I know most assuredly that the place will not remain long empty, which has been consecrated by a heavenly miracle of such virtue. And blessed, indeed, is he on whom the Lord, the author and giver of true happiness, thinks fit to bestow a resting place in it.’

“When the Bishop, with many tears, and his tongue trembling with great emotion, had finished these and more sayings to the same effect, the brethren did as he had ordered; and, wrapping the body in new ap-

A. D. 687. parel, and laying it in a light coffin, placed it above the pavement of the sanctuary."

After his death, Bishop Wilfrid, lately returned from his exile, and reconciled to King Aldfrid by the mediation of Archbishop Theodore, took care of the bishoprick of Lindisfarne till the election of a new Bishop. During this vacancy of the See, which lasted a year, the church and monastery of Lindisfarne were so disturbed, that many of the brethren^(a) chose rather to abandon the place than to be exposed to such contradiction and tumult. The Bollandian writers think that this disturbance arose from Wilfrid, who was vehement in all that his zeal prompted him, by his endeavouring to substitute the rule of S. Benedict for the Columbite rule, and the discipline established by S. Cuthbert. This is contradicted by Father Mabillon, who is of opinion that the rule of S. Benedict was received in Lindisfarne during S. Cuthbert's time; but the anonymous and almost contemporary writer of S. Cuthbert's Life insinuates that the rule settled by S. Cuthbert continued till this writer's time, towards the beginning of the eighth age, to be observed in that monastery, jointly with that of S. Benedict, after it was introduced.

To S. Cuthbert, after the year of Wilfrid's administration was finished, succeeded Eadbert, a man, says Bede,^(b) illustrious for his knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, and by his exact observation of the Divine precepts, and his alms deeds. He governed the see of Lindisfarne about eight years, and with him peace and tranquillity were restored to the monastery; for having been bred up by the Columbites, and walking in their footsteps in their apostolical way of living in primitive simplicity, all tumults and dissensions ceased; and the Catholic form of observing Easter being by this time universally received in all the Saxon churches, and the Columbite rule, with the institutions of S. Cuthbert, being jointly observed with the rule of S. Benedict, and all that done by way of persuasion rather than authority, all occasion of dissension or tumult, that happened in Wilfrid's time in the monastery was taken away. And the good Bishop continued, as S. Cuthbert had done, to govern and exercise his episcopal functions, not only in the places of Northumberland adjacent to Lindisfarne, but throughout all the eastern parts of Lothian or Pictland, to the south of the Friths; and, as it is like, their successors continued to do, till the erection

^(a) Vita. Cuth. c. xl.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 29.

of the see of St. Andrews, and the extent of its jurisdiction to Berwick inclusive. For this reason I shall continue on till then the series of the Bishops of Lindisfarne, as being, for the time, Bishops of the southern parts of Scotland, called in these days and long afterwards, by the name of Pictland, because it made a part of the Pictish dominions, as having been long ago at first yielded up by the Britons to the Picts. And though, after the coming in of the Saxons, this country had been also invaded by them, and a great many Saxon families settled in it, by whom the Saxon language had been first introduced into these parts; yet upon King Egfrid's defeat, A.D. 685, the Picts recovered them, and from thenceforth they became so much masters of that country that from them it was called Pictland—of which denomination the Pictland Hills in Lothian remain as yet a lasting monument. And at last, by the union of the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms into one monarchy, and by the advantages the Scots had over the Saxons whilst they were harassed by the Danes, all these countries, from Berwick-upon-Tweed inclusive, to Carlisle upon the Eden or Solway Frith, were reunited to the Scottish monarchy, and became a part of Scotland, as they still remain.

What I have said of the Bishops of Lindisfarne, their exercising the episcopal functions in Lothian and other parts of Pictland to the south of the Friths towards the east, is to be equally understood and applied to the Bishops of Hagulstad or Hexham, who supplied, in a great measure, on the same side of the Friths towards the west, the long vacancy of the ancient sees of Glasgow and Whithern during the interruption of the succession of these two diocesan Bishops. For which reason I shall likewise continue on the succession of the Bishops of Hexham till Bishop Eardulph's time, in the ninth age, during whose time it was united to that of Lindisfarne, and the Bishop's seat, with S. Cuthbert's body, transferred to Circester or Chester, and from thence, in the end of the tenth age, to Durham.

Meantime (as we have more than once observed) the Picts of the provinces to the north of the Friths, called ancient Caledon, and the Scots were governed by Columbite bishops of their own country. We have elsewhere set down the names of those of them which we could recover, who for the sanctity of their lives were honoured by the faithful with annual festivals, and whose names are marked in the Kalendars of what remain of our Liturgical books. But as to the particulars of their lives

A. D. 687.

A. D. 687. and actions, and even the precise time in which they lived, we are deprived, for the most part, of that satisfaction, by the destruction of ecclesiastical monuments in our country: of which elsewhere.

To return now to Bishop Wilfrid, who endeavoured also to extend his jurisdiction over the Picts in Lothian, whilst he sat peaceably at York, to which he had been lately restored. His restoration, which happened this year, was owing chiefly to the Archbishop Theodore, who, being now very aged, and upon the brink of eternity, had, it seems, a remorse for his hard usage towards S. Wilfrid, and therefore sent for him, was reconciled to him, and, for a full satisfaction of the wrong that Wilfrid complained of, Theodore wrote strong letters of recommendation in his favour,—among others to Aldfrid, King of the Northumbrians, which, being joined to the earnest solicitation of the Princess Ælfled, sister to that King, and Abbess of Streaneshalch, procured Wilfrid's reconciliation to King Aldfrid, and his restoration to the see of York, which was the more easy that all occasion of Wilfrid's complaints were taken away by the removal of Bosa, who had been placed Bishop of York in Wilfrid's place, and S. Cuthbert's retiring to his solitude, and soon after dying, as Eata of Hexham was deceased the year before. But this reconciliation lasted only about four years.

A.D. 688. Adamnan, Abbot of Ycolmkill, was deputed the second time in an embassy from the Scots, no doubt from King Ferchard the Second, then reigning, to Aldfrid, King of the Northumbrians. His first embassy to the same King happened two years before, as he tells us himself, soon after the war in which King Egfrid was killed by the Picts. This last legacy of Adamnan is not only mentioned by Adamnan himself, but by Bede,^(a) and by Ceolfred, Abbot of Yarrow,^(b) in his letter to Naitan, King of the Picts. It is like, his first embassy was not only in the name of the Scots of his own nation, but likewise of the Picts, to regulate the marches of the kingdoms, Aldfrid being forced, upon Egfrid's defeat, as Bede informed us, to give up to the Picts large territories—no doubt, those that his brother and other Northumbrian Kings, his predecessors, had usurped from the Picts and Scots towards the east, and also from the Britons, to the south of the Friths, towards the west. None could be more acceptable to the Northumbrian King than Adamnan, who had been familiarly acquainted with him during his long retreat in Ycolmkill, where

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 15.

^(b) Ibid. c. 21.

that prince stayed, as in banishment, all the time of his brother Egfrid's reign, Failbe, and after him, Adamnan himself, being at the time Abbots of that famous monastery; for which reason, Adamnan calls him by the familiar name of a friend, "*Regem Alfridum visitantes amicum.*" And, indeed, King Aldfrid had more than one reason to be a friend to the inhabitants of that sacred place, since he had found there, not only a retreat and protection in the time of his distress, but learned masters, by whose instructions he was become one of the most learned princes that had sat upon the Saxon throne; especially in the Holy Scriptures, which was the chief subject of the studies of the inhabitants of Ycolmkill, according to the example of S. Columba, their founder; and, accordingly, Bede calls King Aldfrid a man most learned in the Scriptures, "*vir in Scripturis doctissimus.*"^(a)

It was, no doubt, in that quality of a learned as well as friendly prince, that Adamnan presented to him his curious book, containing the description of the Holy Places, or Holy Land,^(b) so much esteemed by the learned, being the only account that we have in these ages of the state and circumstances of these sacred places which had been sanctified by our Lord's own presence when He conversed in the flesh. Bede valued this work so much that, besides an abridgement he left of it apart, he has inserted a shorter abstract of it in his History. At the same time, he informs us that Adamnan had his account of the Holy Land from one Arculfus, a Gallican bishop, who, after having visited the Holy Land, and many other most famous cities and places in the Orient, was, in his return by sea, driven into the Western Islands of Britain; and being come to Ycolmkill, Adamnan, who was Abbot at the same time, finding him a prelate well versed in the Scriptures, and perfectly informed of the Holy Places, not only received him with great joy, and heard with avidity and attention his relations of the Holy Land, but set them down in writing, and having carried them along with him in his embassy to King Aldfrid, presented them to him, by whose liberality they came, says Bede, to be made public. After Adamnan had dispatched all the affairs of his embassy, the king dismissed him with many presents. This work of Adamnan, "*De Locis Sanctis,*" was published entire by Gretzer, at Ingolstadt, A.D. 1619.

But it appears that one of the chief subjects of Adamnan's inquiries in

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 26.

^(b) Ibid. lib. v. c. 15.

A. D. 688. this voyage into England, was in order to be more fully informed about the famous question of the canonical time of celebrating Easter, which was the chief controversy of these times. We have seen the gradual progress that the settling of the right time of this solemnity had made among the southern inhabitants of Ireland, and among the Christians in the north of England. But the Britons, the Scots and Picts, and the northern inhabitants of Ireland, especially those that were subject to Yoolmkill, remained as yet still attached to their old irregular calculations. The form of the tonsure was another occasion of division. Adamnan, by his own lecture, conversation with the learned of both parties, and by his reflections, was in some manner satisfied already as to his own opinion, that the general practice of the Church, in both these heads of discipline, was preferable to that of the Britons, and Scots, and Picts. But he was desirous to improve the knowledge he had attained to upon the subject, by the conversation of the learned, whom he could have opportunity to meet with in his progress through the northern parts of England, in order to bring others into it.

Among those he visited in England was the learned Ceolfrid, Abbot of Yarrow, who gives us, himself,^(*) an account of what passed at their interview, particularly his own opinion conformable to the notions of these times concerning the origin and form of the tonsure; of which in his letter to King Naitan about Easter and the tonsure:—in this letter, after condemning the Scottish form of the tonsure as having its origin, in his opinion, from Simon Magus, Ceolfrid adds:—"But do not think that my meaning is that those who use this tonsure are condemned in case they adhere to the Catholic unity in faith and actions. On the contrary, I confidently profess and acknowledge that many among them have been holy men and acceptable to God; of the which number I reckon among these the excellent prelate Adamnan, Abbot of the Columbite, who, being sent from his country on an embassy to King Aldfrid, was pleased also to visit our monastery, where we observed in his words and behaviour wonderful wisdom, humility, and religion." Ceolfrid continues,—“Among other things, discoursing with Adamnan, I said, ‘I beseech you, most holy brother, who think you are advancing to the crown of life, which has no period nor bounds, why do you, contrary to what you profess to believe, wear on your head a crown that is terminated or bounded, and not finished

(*) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 21.

in a circle? And if you aim at the society of S. Peter, why do you imitate the tonsure of him whom S. Peter anathematized? and why do you not show that you love the habit of him with whom you desire to live happy for ever?' Adamnan answered, 'Be assured, dear brother, that though I bear Simon's tonsure, according to the custom of my country, yet I utterly detest and abhor all Simoniacal wickedness; and I desire, as far as my meanness is capable of doing it, to follow the footsteps of the most blessed prince of the apostles.' "I replied," says Ceolfrid, "I verily believe it as you say; but let it appear by showing in your countenance such things as you know to be his—that is, the form of tonsure that he wore—that you in your heart embrace whatever is of the Apostle Peter: for I believe your wisdom does easily judge that it is much more proper to distinguish your countenance, already dedicated to God, from the resemblance of his aspect whom you abhor in your hearts, and of whose hideous face you would shun the sight; and, on the other hand, that it becomes you to imitate the outward resemblance of him whom you seek to have your advocate with God, as you desire to follow his actions and instructions."

"This, then," says Ceolfrid, "I said to Adamnan, who, indeed, showed how much he had improved by seeing the statutes and discipline of our Churches, when, after his return from England, he brought great numbers to the Catholic observance of the Paschal time, though he was not yet able to reduce to a better way the monks that lived in Ycolmkill, over whom he presided as their ruler or Abbot." But the reduction of those of Ycolmkill was reserved to the holy man Egbert, who was particularly appointed by God for that work, as we have seen. Meantime, we may observe, by the resistance of the religious men of Ycolmkill, in this point of discipline, to their Abbot, Adamnan,—one of the greatest men of the time, and who, in quality of Head of all the Columbites, ought to have had so great influence over his own immediate disciples, especially in an affair in which he was supported by almost all the rest of the Catholic Church—we may observe, I say, by this attachment of these of Ycolmkill to this point of discipline, which chiefly proceeded from the respect and veneration they had for all the practices and examples of the great S. Columba, and at the same time conclude from it their steadiness and perseverance in all other matters of doctrine and discipline which had been taught and established among them and the rest of the Scots and Picts by that great man: for whose memory the alteration about Easter and the tonsure begun by Adamnan in

A. D. 688. the end of this age, and perfected in the beginning of the next, diminished nothing of their veneration, especially it being supported by frequent miraculous marks of his powerful intercession with God in behalf, as well of the Scots and Picts in general, as of each of them in particular who re-claimed his patronage : of all which Adamnan himself, at this very time, that is, about one hundred years after S. Columba's death, as a proof that he was still no less powerful with God, and no less solicitous for them than when alive upon earth, gives us proofs of which he himself was witness, and shared in the benefit, and which, being proper to give further light into the doctrine and discipline of the Scottish Church in these days, belong particularly to this work, and deserve a place in it.

Thus, then, in the first place, Adamnan gives account of the miraculous effects of S. Columba's protection against the plague, which he himself experienced in this same voyage through England, in his own preservation and that of all his retinue. "As for us," says Adamnan, ^(a) "we do not cease to render thanks to God for his having preserved us by the intercession and prayers of our venerable patron, S. Columba, from the attacks of the plague, both in these our islands and when we went to visit our friend, King Aldfrid, during the time the plague was raging everywhere, and carrying off numbers of people in the villages through which we passed. For such was the goodness of God towards us that, both in our first visit, after the battle in which King Egfrid was killed, and two years afterwards, in our second visit or progress through England, though we travelled amidst the plague, yet, not only none of our company died, but not so much as one of them was troubled with any sickness or distemper;" and, which is more, in the same chapter, Adamnan gives us an account of the wonderful preservation of our ancestors, the Picts and Scots, alone among all the nations of Europe, from the universal plague that raged through all other countries; and this singular favour was granted to them by the prayers of S. Columba. For after narrating, in the forty-fifth chapter, several miracles wrought by S. Columba's prayers, in Adamnan's own presence, he thus continues in the forty-sixth:—

"Nor ought it, I conceive," says Adamnan, "to be reckoned the least among S. Columba's miracles, what happened in the time of the plague, which, in our own time, ravaged twice the most part of the world. For, not

^(a) Vit. Columbae, lib. ii. c. 46.

to mention other large countries of Europe, that is, Italy, Rome itself, the Gauls and Spain, even the islands in the ocean, to wit, Britain and Ireland, were twice ravaged with a dreadful plague, all of them, excepting only the two people of the Picts and the Scots of Britain, who are separated one from another by the hills of Drumalbain:—and though the sins of both these people were grievous enough to provoke the wrath of the Eternal Judge, yet He has been pleased hitherto patiently to forbear and spare them.

“Now, to what else can we attribute this singular favour of God but to the prayers of S. Columba, whose monasteries, founded within the bounds of these two peoples, are, by them both, held in the greatest respect till this time? But I cannot help adding here, with grief in my heart,” says Adamnan, “that, notwithstanding these singular mercies bestowed by Almighty God upon these two peoples, there are still some of them so foolishly ingrate to the prayers of the saints, by which they have been hitherto protected, that they still continue to abuse the mercies of God.”

Thus Adamnan: and what lamentations would not the good Abbot have made, could he have foreseen that these monasteries of S. Columba, and even Ycolmkill itself—which in his time was held in so great honour by the Scots and Picts—the Mother Church of their Christianity—pillaged and ravaged, not by the pagan Danes, as in former ages, but by the avarice of the inhabitants of these same countries which owed to S. Columba and his disciples the first light of the Gospel, and the progress and preservation of it among them during so many ages. But Almighty God has not let pass unpunished the chief instruments of this last destruction of these holy places, for it is till this day the opinion of Protestants as well as Catholics, in our Highlands and Isles, that the misfortunes, decay, and heavy judgments, which have ever since the new Reformation till now hung over a most ancient and once most potent family which had the immediate hand in ravaging Ycolmkill, are no less the lasting effects of the wrath of God for that sacrilegious depredation of these holy places, consecrated to the memory of the second Apostle of our country, than the decay and ruin that happened to an ancient family in the Mearns, was, in the judgment of all the neighbourhood, reckoned as the due punishment of the violation of the monument of S. Palladius, reckoned by the Scots among the first apostles of their nation.

In the end of this seventh age, about A.D. 689, the holy man, Egbert, who, as has been related, was living retired in a monastery of Ireland, pro-

A. D. 689. posed to himself to do good to many, and resolved to undertake the work of preaching the Gospel to some of those nations in Germany from whom the English were descended; and, in order to that design, to sail about Britain towards these parts, to try to bring them over to Christ; or, if that could not be done, he designed to go to Rome, to see and venerate the repositories of the holy apostles and martyrs of Christ. But whilst he was full of these thoughts, and preparing all for the journey, the holy man, Boisil, formerly Prior of Melrose under Eata, as we have seen, appeared three several times to one of the brethren of the monastery where Egbert lived, and ordered him to deliver the following message to Egbert from our Lord—to wit, that he must not undertake the journey to Germany, as he had intended, but that the will of God was that he rather went to Ycolmkill and the Monastery of S. Columba, in order to bring them into the right way, that is, to reduce them to the canonical way of celebrating Easter.

Upon this, Egbert, being thus by the will of heaven disappointed of all hopes of undertaking in person this pious design of preaching the Gospel in Germany, gave not wholly over his holy resolution, but resolved to do by others what he was hindered to go about himself. He, therefore, sent holy and industrious men to the work of the Gospel. Among these, Willibrord, born in England but educated under Egbert's direction in Ireland, having thus received from Egbert a mission to preach the Gospel, went, accompanied with two brothers, and in a short time they converted many from idolatry to the faith of Christ. Willibrord, who was the chief and head of them, going afterwards to Rome, was ordained, by Pope Sergius, bishop at large, to preach the Gospel to the infidels upon the coast of Germany; and at last he fixed his seat at Utrecht, and he is held to be the Apostle and first Bishop of that city, in Holland.

Many other holy men, moved by an apostolical zeal, went from our British Islands, during this and the following ages, to preach the Gospel in Germany and in the northern countries, whose lives and actions may be seen in the general history of the Church, and the particular Lives of each of them; so that it were useless to digress upon them in this work, especially since it would be both an endless and invidious labour to enter into the discussions and debates of the modern Scottish, English, and Irish writers, about the places of the birth and origin of each one of these apostolical men. These debates chiefly arise from the dubious and equivocal meaning of the names *Scotia* and *Hibernia*, which in these times were

indifferently applied, by the writers, to Ireland and Scotland, and particularly to the Island of Ycolmkill, which not only belongs to Scotland, but was, in this seventh and eighth age, as it were, the very centre of all civil and ecclesiastical affairs of that kingdom. For example, S. Kilian, bishop and martyr, and patron of Wurzburg, about this same time, is, by some of the authors of his Life, called an Irishman; but by Trithemius, who was Abbot of the Scottish monastery of Wurzburg, and no doubt had examined the ancient monument of it, Kilianus is called "*monachus Hyensis*," a monk of Ycolmkill, and his adding "*in Hibernia*," is the effect of the confusion of this name, applied sometimes, as I said, in ancient times, as well to the northern part of Britain, inhabited by the Scots, as to Ireland, properly so called.

But not to cumber this work with interminable debates, to little other purpose than to revive the contestations of the different pretenders to these apostolical men, I return to Egbert, who, by his zeal for the conversion of infidel nations, and more yet by his giving mission to other evangelical preachers, upon his being hindered himself to go and labour towards their conversion, appears to have been even at this time promoted to the episcopal Order, which is confirmed by the manner that Bede speaks of him. For though it is observable that Bede mentions him nine different times, he never once calls him by the name of presbyter, by which he designs those who were only in the second Order of priesthood; whatever other pre-eminence they had, even the great S. Columba, Abbot of Ycolmkill, whom he never calls but presbyter, whereas, he calls Egbert, everywhere, *sacerdos*, which, in Bede's language, is common to the first and second Order of the priesthood, but made use of more often by him to design a bishop than a priest, as we see^(a) in his account of the mission of the Gallican bishops, Germanus, Lupus, and Severus, to Britain against the Pelagians. Bede calls these bishops no less than fourteen times by the name of *sacerdos*. But not only everywhere is Egbert called by Bede, *sacerdos*, and never once presbyter, but the epithets that Bede gives him every time he mentions him, sufficiently prove that he was a bishop; for he calls him four several times "*reverendissimus pater et sacerdos Egbertus*," and, again, "*reverendissimus et sanctissimus pater et sacerdos Egbert*," and though those expressions alone of Bede might suffice to convince impartial

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cc. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

A. D. 689. men that Egbert was a true bishop, yet, independently of Bede, other ancient writers who lived about or near the time, such as Alcuin and Ethelwerd, call Egbert expressly bishop,—*episcopus* and *antistes*; whence Mabillon concludes that there can be no doubt^(*) but that Egbert was a true bishop in the proper sense, though, perhaps, says he, he was attached to no particular seat or diocese, which was an ordinary custom in Britain, and more yet in Ireland, in those times. But besides that, there was a particular reason why Egbert was bishop at large, and not fixed at first to any seat. For his first design, as we have seen, being to go to Saxony, Friesland, and other parts of Germany, to convert the old Saxons, and establish Christianity among them, and having towards that end assembled fellow-labourers to assist him and prepared all other necessities, it was natural that he should receive the Order of episcopacy before he left Ireland, to qualify him for ordaining pastors, founding and dedicating churches—functions necessary in the founding a new Christian Church—and being once promoted to the episcopal degree, the step that Almighty God put to his intended mission made him a bishop at large without a see, till he came at last, as we shall see, and fixed himself at Ycolmkill, where he resided till his death, and acted with an authority, and got a greater ascendancy over the monastery of Ycolmkill than ever their abbots had.

A. D. 690, died Ferchard, Second of that name, surnamed Fada, that is, the Long, and the twelfth King of the Scots. This is the second of our real kings whom Boece, from Veremund, makes a tyrant, or rather a monster of wickedness, and brings in his subjects preparing to impeach and punish him for his maladministration, had they not been dissuaded, say they, by the good Bishop Colman. They add, that being at last punished by God with a loathsome distemper, he repented, and was assisted at his death by the same Bishop Colman. Now, besides that there is nothing of all this in Fordun, who furnished all the real grounds of Boece's History that we know of, the falsehood of what they relate of this King Ferchard appears by the account already set down of Bishop Colman. We have shown that after his retreat from England, A.D. 664, he abode three years in Ycolmkill, or other parts of Scotland, in the exercise of his episcopal functions, before he retired to Innisbofin, upon the coast of Ireland, which happening A.D. 667, two years before Ferchard the Second came

^(*) *Annal. tom. ii. p. 81.*

to the crown, which, according to the exactest calculation we can make from all the most ancient monuments now remaining, happened A.D. 669. So Bishop Colman being, during King Ferchard's reign, retired to his monastery of Ireland, either of Innisbofinn or Magio, he could be of no service to King Ferchard against his subjects in the beginning of his reign, and far less could he be useful to him at his death, since we have seen that the death of Colman himself fell out A.D. 675, fifteen years before that of King Ferchard, which happened only A.D. 690. (What Bishop Lesley adds to this fabulous account of Colman, concerning his travels through Germany and Hungary, and his martyrdom in Austria, regards another S. Colman, a Scot, martyred in Austria in the eleventh age.) But upon the whole, we see by this and other such examples, what account ought to be made of the rest of our kings, supposed to have been tyrants, whom Boece and other modern writers upon this, from this Veremund, and Buchanan and Lesley after Boece, bring in arraigned or punished by their subjects. But I refer the reader to what is said of the first origin and source of these fabulous arraignments and depositions of the kings of Scotland in my Critical Essay, pages 251, 252, etc.

The same year, happened the death of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the most learned men of his age, and who contributed the most of any, to settle in England ecclesiastical polity according to the canons, and to polish it by all kind of literature. He was the first among the Archbishops of Canterbury that exerted the metropolitan power to its full length, by erecting new bishopricks, calling to his councils the bishops of all the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, exercising through them all, and particularly in the province of York, a metropolitical jurisdiction, and even endeavouring to extend it over the Picts, by settling a new bishop at Abercorn. It is worth the observing, that this was the second step that was made towards subjecting the Church of Scotland to that of England; and we have seen the check it met with from the Picts. The first step, upon which all that followed in after ages was grounded, was the order of Pope Gregory the First to S. Augustine, containing a draft of settling the Church of Britain; according to which there were to be two Archbishops, one at London, and another at York; but this had hitherto never had any execution; and even Theodore, though sent from Rome, was so far from conforming himself to S. Gregory's plan in what concerned the metropolity of York, that he not only took as great authority over that province as over

A. D. 690.

A. D. 690. his own, and settled new bishops there; but set up and pulled down even the Bishops of York themselves, as he found it convenient, as we have seen in the case of Ceadda, Wilfrid, Bosa, etc., and, in a word, it must be owned that however learned he was and otherwise well-intentioned, his government was very arbitrary. He died at the age of eighty-eight.

The same year died also another person of great distinction, though of inferior character, who concurred very much to the literature and exterior polity of the Saxon Church. This was Benedict, surnamed Biscop, before mentioned, the founder and first Abbot of Weremouth or Yarrow, where he established the rule of S. Bennet, and from thence, especially by the credit and zeal of Bishop Wilfrid, who was the first that introduced that rule into England, it was by degrees propagated throughout Britain. Benedict Biscop formed in his monastery of Yarrow a famous school or seminary of learning, in which, among others, Bede, born A. D. 675, in those parts near the borders of Scotland, was bred up to all kind of literature. To Benedict succeeded Ceolfred, of whom we shall have very soon another occasion to speak.

To King Ferchard succeeded Eochod or Eocha alias Achai II., surnamed Rinneval or Stronaval, with the crooked nose, in Latin, habens curvum nasum, as the *Chronicon Scotorum* expresses it. He was the son of Dongard, who was son to King Donald Breac, and was the fourteenth king of the Scots. His reign, which lasted thirteen years, is divided by our modern writers, after Fordun, betwixt two kings, to the one of whom they gave the name of Eugenius the Fifth, who has three or four years of a reign assigned him, and give the other ten years reign to one Eugenius the Sixth; neither of whom are mentioned by that name in any of the remains of our ancient Chronicles before Fordun, in whose work the ancient series or order of succession of our kings is inverted, by placing King Malduin after Ferchard the Second, whose predecessor he was, and who succeeded immediately to Donald Breac; whereas Ferchard the Second had for his immediate successor, according to all the ancient abstracts of our Chronicles, this Eochod Rinneval, who reigned thirteen years, according to the Chronicle in Latin rhythm, which agreeing better with the word "tredecim," written at length, is less subject to alteration than bare numeral cyphers; for which reasons I have preferred it to other copies that allow Eochod only three years of a reign.

About these times there happened in Scotland a miracle very memorable,

which might be compared to the wonders of old, says Bede, to whom I refer the reader to see the whole relation at length, and shall here set down only a short abstract of it. To the end, says Bede, that negligent Christians might be awakened into serious thoughts of the rewards destined to the good, and of the punishment of the wicked after this life, a certain man, after lying a whole night in the state of death, or rather in a trance, related what he had seen in a vision of the state of souls according to the different dispositions in which they depart out of this world. This man whose name was Drythelm, was an honest housekeeper, who, with his family, lived a religious life in Cunningham, in the west of Scotland, who having been struck with a disease, which by degrees so increased, that at last it brought him to the extremity, so that on a certain day towards the evening he died, or rather seemed to expire, so that all those that attended him looked upon him as truly dead. But early next morning, before day, he came to himself again, and suddenly raising himself up in his bed, all those who mournfully watched about him, being terribly frightened, ran away; only his wife, who tenderly loved him, stood still in great apprehension.

The man seeing his wife, bid her be of good courage. "Fear not," said he, "for I am truly come alive, and permission is given me to live a while longer among men. But my conversation hereafter must be quite otherwise than formerly it has been." Having said this he presently arose, and went to the oratory of the village, and remaining in prayer till it was full day, immediately divided all his substance into three parts; one whereof he gave to his wife, another to his children, and the third belonging to himself he instantly distributed among the poor. Not long after, he repaired to the monastery of Melrose, which is almost enclosed by the windings of the river Tweed, and there, having received the monastic tonsure, he went in to a private mansion, which had been provided for him by Edilwald, Abbot of Melrose, who was afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne, when Bede wrote. He had a more private place of retreat in this monastery, where he might apply himself to the service of his Creator in continual prayer; and that place being seated on the bank of the river, he was wont to go down often into the water to chastise his body, and many times to duck quite under the water, and to continue in it saying psalms or prayers as long as he could endure it, standing still sometimes up to the middle, and sometimes to the neck in water; and when he went out from thence he never took off his cold and frozen garments, but let them grow

A. D. 694. dry and warm on his body. And when in the winter weather, the half-broken pieces of ice swimming about him, which he had sometimes broken himself to have room to stand or dip in the river, those who beheld it would say, "It is wonderful, Brother Drythelm, that you are able to endure such austerity," he simply answered, (for he was a man of great simplicity and mildness), "I have seen much greater austerity."

Thus he continued till the day of his death, in such extraordinary contrition and mortification, that though his tongue had been silent, his life declared that he had seen extraordinary things, some very dreadful, others very ravishing, which were unknown to others. He would not relate what he had seen to slothful persons and such as lived negligently, but only to those who had the fear of God, and being terrified with the dread of the torments of the wicked, or delighted with the hopes of heavenly joys, would make use of the relation to advance in piety. Bede adds, that Aldfrid, King of Northumberland, a man most learned in all respects, was so much taken with the relation that Drythelm made of his visions, that when he happened to come into these parts, he went very often to hear him and converse with him. But the person from whom Bede received the full detail of Drythelm's visions, was one Hemgels, a religious man, distinguished by the sacerdotal degree, who was still alive when Bede wrote, and having retired to Ireland, led there a solitary life upon coarse bread and water. This man had been very familiar with Drythelm, and had heard often from him all the particulars of his visions, and from him Bede had the account that he has given of them, to whom I refer the reader; and without making any judgment of this vision, I shall only observe, primo, that considering the holy man's simplicity, and the wonderful impression what he had seen made upon his life, it cannot be doubted but his imagination had been deeply struck with the impression of the different states of the punishments of the wicked, and happiness of the just that had been represented to him. Secundo, that the opinion that the learned King Aldfrid, and Abbot Edilwald, and others that knew him had of this holy penitent, suffices to show that with all his simplicity he was a man of good sense, and not a crazy brain. Tertio, that both the man himself, and all those that gave ear to him, were persuaded, that besides the torments of hell destined for the wicked, and the joys of heaven prepared for the just, there was a middle state of purgation or purgatory for the souls of those who had too long delayed to confess and do penance for their sins. Quarto,

that in this suffering state of purgation some remained till the Day of Judgment, but that many were relieved from it before, by the prayers of the living, by alms, fasting, and chiefly by the celebration of masses,—and that in this, the inhabitants of these southern parts of Scotland agreed with all the rest of the Church in all ages and countries, that the imperfect just deceased, were helped and relieved by the prayers and good works of the living, as especially by the holy sacrifice of the mass offered for them.

A. D. 695, died Bride or Brude, the victorious king of the Picts, who by the defeat of King Egfrid, had recovered all the Pictish territories to the south of the Friths, and reduced the Northumbrian kingdom to narrower bounds. He was succeeded by Taran, son of Entifidich, who reigned four years, and was the sixtieth king of the Picts. In his time, the Picts gained a memorable battle against the Saxons, in which was killed the general of the Northumbrians, called Beort, who had attacked the Picts in order to revenge the death of King Egfrid, but he had no better fate than that king; both he and his army being destroyed by the Picts, probably led on in battle by Taran their king. It was also in this king's reign that the abbot Adamnan, who, as we have said, by his own study, and the conversation of Abbot Ceolfrid, and other learned men in England, had been fully satisfied of the error of his countrymen in the legal time of celebrating Easter, and that the observation, as well of the Roman and other Churches abroad, as of all those of Britain, excepting the Scots and Picts, and the Britons, was the only right one; and upon this, being desirous to bring his religious men of Ycolmkill to conformity with the other Churches, upon his return to that island he used all his endeavours to set them right, but without any success; such was their attachment to their ancient usages. Wherefore, leaving them for a space, A. D. 696, seven years before his death, according to Ussher's Chronology, he passed over to Ireland, with a resolution to labour towards the reducing those of the inhabitants that had hitherto been refractory in the celebration of Easter, to the common observance of other Churches, and had so good success in that kingdom, that by his preaching and modest exhortations, he reduced to the legal observance, almost all that had hitherto stood out among the natives, excepting those that were subject to the jurisdiction of Ycolmkill.

A. D. 699, died Taran, King of the Picts, and had for his successor Bridei or Brude the Fifth, son of Dereli, who reigned eleven years, and was the sixty-first king of the Picts.

A. D. 703.

A. D. 703. The abbot Adamnan, after reducing great numbers of the inhabitants of Ireland to the right observance of Easter, having celebrated the solemnity in the canonical manner, returned this year to Ycolmkill, his own island, and having most earnestly inculcated the observation of the Catholic time of Easter, says Bede, in his own monastery, yet without being able to prevail, it happened that he departed this world before the year came about, the divine goodness so disposing matters, that he being a great lover of peace and unity, should be taken to eternal life, and not be exposed again upon the return of Easter, to fall more grievously at variance with those that would not follow him in observing the true time of the celebration of this great solemnity.

He died upon the twenty-third of September, and was buried in his own monastery, and his annual festival was celebrated in all our Churches in Scotland, by the name of S. Adavnan, the letter m or mh being pronounced u or v in Gaelic, whence he was called by the vulgar S. Deunan or Theunan; and thus he is called by King in his vulgar calendar, on his anniversary day, the twenty-third, and not the twenty-fifth September, as he is placed by the name of Adamnan in the calendar of the Scottish Common Prayer-book, printed A. D. 1638, in which he is qualified bishop.

Besides the sanctity of his life, and his zeal for uniformity in the Church, and other virtues, for which we have seen him highly commended by venerable Bede and Abbot Ceolfrid, his memory ought to be precious among the Scots, as an ancient writer, particularly for the light he gives us in these dark ages, both in our civil and sacred history, as the reader will have seen all along in the many citations from Adamnan's Life of S. Columba. Besides, we have from him another piece already mentioned, and much esteemed by the learned, intituled *De Locis Sanctis*, or a description of the Holy Land in the state it was in the seventh age. For though Adamnan was only the penman of that work, and the substance of it is due to Arculfus, a French bishop, yet we should never have had it without Adamnan. A third small work of Adamnan is some rules or canons, chiefly concerning legal observances (according to the degree of the first Apostolical council), particularly against eating things strangled, or blood, which Apostolical precept, it appears by these canons and other ancient monuments, was still observed by the Scots, both in Britain and Ireland, as far down as the eighth or ninth age. These canons, which are only nine in number, I have seen under the title of "Canones Adam-

nani" in an M.S. of the Cottonian Library, and in another very ancient M.S. formerly belonging to M. Bigot, now in the King of France's library, number 3665. A. D. 703.

Before I leave S. Adamnan, it is fit to take notice that, among other works of piety, he rebuilt or repaired the buildings of the Abbey of Ycolmkill, which were beginning to decay in his time. Upon which occasion he gives account of a miraculous alteration of the winds, obtained in his own presence, by his own, and those in his own company, their addressing to S. Columba, by whose intercession the contrary wind was suddenly changed into a favourable, which conveyed them in their boats, with all the materials for building they were loaded with to Ycolmkill. In the same chapter, he gives account of another miracle of the same kind, wrought in his own presence, and in that of all who sailed with him, by the Saint's prayers. He adds in the same and preceding chapter, two other miracles, to which he himself, and all the neighbourhood were witnesses, wrought by exposing the habit in which S. Columba expired, with books written in his own hand.^(*)

It will appear, perhaps to some, that I have insisted too long upon S. Adamnan; but, besides the light he furnishes to our history in ages when our other writers are so barren of materials, the author of these memoirs, born in a parish anciently devoted to the memory of this holy man, and still preserving a monument of him, well known to all the neighbourhood by the name of S. Eunan's well, and S. Eunan's tree, thought it a duty to be at some more pains to illustrate his life and actions.⁽¹⁾

S. Adamnan had for his successor in the Abbey of Ycolmkill, Conain, son of Failbe, who governed it six years. The same year, 703, died Eochod Rinneval, or Eocha II, called by our modern writers, as I have observed, Eugenius. He had for his successor, Ambrecallach or Amberkellech, the son of Ferchard Fada, or as the Register of S. Andrews, Gray, and Fordun have it, the son of Findan, who was son to Eochod Buyd. Amberkellech reigned one year only. Fordun adds, that having unadvisedly broken the peace with the Picts, and made an irruption into their kingdom, he was there killed by the shot of an arrow. But Fordun has nothing of the lust, avarice, and other vices with which, upon Veremundian authority, our modern writers load this prince.

^(*) Vit. Col. lib. ii. cc. 44. 45.

⁽¹⁾ [The Parish referred to is Aboyne. See Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 633.]

A. D. 704.

A. D. 704. His successor in the throne was his brother Eogan or Eugenius, son of Ferchard Fada. He is called by Fordun, Eugenius the Sixth, and others call him Eugene the Seventh. He reigned sixteen years. Fordun gives him the character of an humble and modest prince, more inclined to peace than war, gaining by his benevolence the neighbouring princes, and cultivating his own kingdom by good laws. To this, our modern writers add, that he caused all the martial deeds of his ancestors to be collected and chronicled for the benefit of posterity, and these Chronicles to be deposited in Ycolmkill, and expert historians, at the public expense, appointed to continue the History of our country.^(*) This King Eugene, called in our more ancient Chronicles, Eogan or Ewen, is the first of our kings that is mentioned in the Chronicle of Melrose, or rather in the interpolations to this Chronicle, taken from our more ancient Chronicles, where no doubt the whole series, from Fergus son of Erch, was contained, such as we find it in the abstracts from our ancient Chronicles, printed in the Appendix to the Critical Essay. But the Chronicle of Melrose beginning only A. D. 731, where Bede's History ends, the compiler of these additions to the Melrose Chronicle, to make his additions agree and answer to this Chronicle, begins the series of our kings no higher than this Ewen, who lived about the time the Chronicle of Melrose begins; so, no wonder it contains none of our kings, predecessors to Ewen. But, as to the kings that succeeded him, they are all to be found in this Chronicle, or interpolations to it, taken from our ancient Chronicles, i.e. the same names of kings, bating faults of copyists, and exactly in the same series and order of succession, just as the other abstracts of our ancient Chronicles, numbers 4, 5, and 6, in the Appendix to the Essay, conformable also to those extracted by Winton and James Gray, the former from Chronicles or Records all written before Fordun's new scheme of our history was framed, and by consequence more authentic, and more to be depended on in the names, order, and succession of our kings, than Fordun, Boece, or his followers, and Buchanan or any other of our modern writers, who all of them followed Fordun's scheme.

As to the Chronicle of Melrose, an account of it has already been given in pages 610 and 611 of the Critical Essay; to which it may be added, that the series of our kings down from Ewen I, called Eugene, being in a different hand from the Chronicle itself, and inserted in it in

(*) Buchan. 59th King, Boece, fol. 180.

A. D. 705.

a hand posterior to the Chronicle, as is visible by the inspection of the original M. S. in the Cottonian library, in which these additions being generally interlined, and that very negligently, especially as to the chronology, or application of our king's reigns, made by the interpolator to the years of God, and other transactions in this Chronicle. And Bishop Ussher, as well as Dr. Gale, the editor of the Chronicle of Melrose, has taken notice of these interpolations, and this editor, besides inserting them in the body of the piece, as he found them in the M.S. of the Cottonian library, has printed these interpolations apart, at the end of the volume. For these reasons, little or no regard is to be had to the chronological part of these interpolations, either in the original M.S. or in the printed copy, pages 136, &c., or page 595, at the end, where they are put altogether, with the epitaphs or inscriptions in verse, containing a short account of our kings, from the union of the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms, that is, from King Kenneth Mac Alpin, down till King Malcolm the Fourth. For this reason, we shall not depend upon the years of God, assigned to these interpolations of the Chronicle of Melrose, towards settling the chronology of our kings till the time of Malcolm Canmore.

The same year, 705, died Aldfrid, King of the Northumbrians, after a reign of twenty years. He was before his death reconciled with the famous Bishop Wilfrid, and ordered his monasteries of Ripon and Hagulstad and other rights to be restored to him, which was accordingly performed under King Osred his successor, in a Synod held the same year, upon the river Nid, which is therefore said to be holden in Niddisdale by Dean Cresse. Wilfrid outlived this restoration four years, and died at last at Oundle, and was buried in his monastery of Ripon.

He was certainly a prelate of great zeal, learning, and courage, but a great adversary to the Scottish usages, as we have seen; and accordingly, in his greatest straits, when he was pressed by the King and whole Synod to demit, "he spoke with resolution and courage, saying, 'Why do you force on me so deplorable and miserable a calamity as that I should turn against myself the sword of dreadful destruction,—that is, the subscription to my own condemnation? Could I, without being in some measure liable to suspicion, give ground of offence to all who hear my name thus made public, when publicly, with however little desert, I have borne, for almost forty years, the name of bishop? And was not I, also, the first, after the death of the early bishops, commissioned by S. Gregory to take measures

A. D. 709. for the purpose of eradicating the poisonous germs of Scottish planting, and of completely converting the whole nation of the Northumbrians to the true Easter, and to the tonsure in the form of a crown, instead of that which was previously made by shaving the hinder part of the head, from the crown downwards, thus bringing them to conformity with the custom of the Apostolic see? Or was not I the first that troubled myself how I might instruct two choirs standing beside each other to chant, according to the rite of the primitive Church, with harmonious modulation of voice, the choirs and individuals answering in alternate responses? Or how I might order the lives of the monks, according to the rule of the holy Father Benedict, which no one before me introduced among them? And now, how shall I bring forward against myself a sudden sentence of condemnation, where I am unconscious of any crime? But with regard to this newly raised question, by which ye have endeavoured to injure my character for sanctity, I appeal with confidence to the Apostolic see; and whoever among you presumes to deprive me of my rank and dignity, I this day invite him to proceed thither with me to receive judgment. For the wise men of Rome ought to know correctly for what fault ye desire to degrade me, before I agree with you alone about these things.' On hearing this the Archbishop and the King said, 'Now surely since he has clearly become guilty, let him be branded by us, and condemned for having chosen their judgment rather than ours.' And in uttering this threat, the King added to the Archbishop, 'If you command it, I shall, without the least hesitation, take care on this occasion to force him, by the strength of my overpowering army, to acknowledge himself ready to submit to your judgment.' But the other bishops, members of the council, said, 'We ought to remember that he came hither on the safeguard of our plighted faith, since otherwise he would not be thus presuming; let us all alike then return in peace to our own homes with a prosperous journey.'^(a)

About the same time that Bishop Wilfrid died and entered into eternal rest, after the many struggles of his laborious episcopate, there happened another quite contrary death, capable to inspire terror and awake a sense of repentance in those that procrastinate their conversion from day to day; and the account of it from Bede being from the relation of a bishop of our country, S. Pecthelm, the first Bishop of Candida Casa after the restora-

^(a) Eddius Stephanus, Vita Wilfridi, c. xlv. Scriptores XV. pp. 75-77.

tion of that see deserves to be mentioned in short in this work. "In the reign of Coenred, who succeeded Ethelred, there was a layman in a military employment, no less acceptable to the king for his worldly industry, than displeasing to him for his private neglect of himself. The king often admonished him to confess and amend, and to forsake his wicked courses, before he should lose all time for repentance and amendment by a sudden death. Though frequently warned, he despised the words of salvation, and promised he would do penance at some future time. In the meantime, falling sick he was confined to his bed, and began to feel very severe pains. The king coming to him (for he loved the man) earnestly exhorted him, even then, before death, to repent of his offences. He answered, 'He would not then confess his sins, but would do it when he was recovered of his sickness, lest his companions should upbraid him with having done that for fear of death, which he refused to do in health.' He thought he then spoke very bravely, but it afterwards appeared that he had been miserably deluded by the wiles of the devil.

A. D. 709.

"The distemper still increasing, when the king came again to visit and instruct him, he cried out with a lamentable voice, 'What will you have now? What are you come for? for you can no longer do me any good.' The king answered, 'Do not talk so; behave yourself like a man in his right mind.' 'I am not mad,' replied he, 'but I have now all the guilt of my wicked conscience before my eyes.' 'What is the meaning of that?' rejoined the king. 'Not long since' said he, 'there came into this room two most beautiful youths, and sat down by me, the one at my head and the other at my feet. One of them produced a very small and most curious book, and gave it me to read; looking into it, I there found all the good actions I had ever done in my life written down, and they were very few and inconsiderable. They took back the book and said nothing to me. Then, on a sudden, appeared an army of wicked and deformed spirits, encompassing the house without, and filling it within. Then he, who by the blackness of his dismal face, and his sitting above the rest, seemed to be the chief of them, taking out a book horrid to behold, of a prodigious size, and of almost insupportable weight, commanded one of his followers to bring it to me to read. Having read it, I found therein, most plainly written, in black characters, all the crimes I ever committed, not only in word and deed, but even in the least thought; and he said to those men in white who sat by me, 'Why do you sit here, since you most certainly know

A. D. 709. that this man is ours.' They answered, 'You are in the right, take and add him to the number of the damned.' This said, they immediately vanished, and two most wicked spirits rising, with forks in their hands, one of them struck me on the head, and the other on the foot. These strokes are now with great torture, penetrating through my bowels to the inward parts of my body, and as soon as they meet I shall die, and the devils being ready to snatch me away, I shall be dragged into hell.'

"Thus talked that wretch in despair, and dying soon after, he is now in vain suffering in eternal torments, that penance which he refused to suffer during a short time, that he might obtain forgiveness. Of whom it is manifest that (as the holy Pope Gregory writes of certain persons), he did not see these things for his own sake, since they availed him only for the instruction of others, who, knowing of his death, should be afraid to put off the time of repentance, whilst they have leisure, lest, being prevented by sudden death, they should depart impenitent. His having books laid before him by the good or evil spirits, was done by Divine dispensation, that we may keep in mind that our actions and thoughts are not lost in the wind, but are all kept to be examined by the Supreme Judge, and will in the end be shown us, either by friendly or hostile angels. As to the angels first producing a white book, and then the devils a black one; the former a very small one, the latter one very large; it is to be observed, that in his first years he did some good actions, all which he nevertheless obscured by the evil actions of his youth. If, on the contrary, he had taken care in his youth to correct the errors of his more tender years, and to cancel them in God's sight by doing well, he might have been associated to the number of those of whom the Psalm says, 'Blessed are those whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are hid.' This story, as I learned it of the venerable Bishop Pecthelm, I have thought proper to relate in a plain manner, for the salvation of my hearers.

"I knew a brother myself, (would to God I had not known him!) whose name I could mention if it were necessary, and who resided in a noble monastery, but lived himself ignobly. He was frequently reprov'd by the brethren and elders of the place, and admonished to adopt a more regular life; and though he would not give ear to them, he was long patiently borne with by them, on account of his usefulness in temporal works, for he was an excellent carpenter. He was much addicted to drunkenness, and other pleasures of a lawless life, and more used to stop in his workhouse

day and night, than to go to Church to sing and pray, and hear the word of life with the brethren. For which reason it happened to him, according to the saying, that he who will not willingly and humbly enter the gate of the Church will certainly be damned, and enter the gate of hell whether he will or no. For he falling sick, and being reduced to extremity, called the brethren, and with much lamentation, and like one damned, began to tell them that he saw hell open, and Satan at the bottom thereof; as also Caiaphas, with the others that slew our Lord by him delivered up to avenging flames. 'In whose neighbourhood,' said he, 'I see a place of eternal perdition provided for me miserable wretch.' The brothers hearing these words, began seriously to exhort him that he should repent even then whilst he was in the flesh. He answered in despair, 'I have no time now to change my course of life, when I have myself seen my judgment passed.'

A. D. 709.

"Whilst uttering these words he died, without having received the saving viaticum; and his body was buried in the remotest parts of the monastery; nor did any one dare either to say masses, or sing Psalms, or even to pray for him. How far has our Lord divided the light from darkness! The blessed martyr Stephen, being about to suffer death for the truth, saw the heavens open, the glory of God revealed, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God. And where he was to be after death, there he fixed the eyes of his mind, that he might die with the more satisfaction. On the contrary, this carpenter, of a dark mind and actions, when death was at hand, saw hell open, and witnessed the damnation of the devil and his followers; the unhappy wretch also saw his own prison among them, to the end that, despairing of his salvation, he might die the more miserably, but might by his perdition, afford cause of salvation to the living who should hear of it. This happened lately in the province of the Bernicians, and being reported abroad, far and near, inclined many to do penance for their sins without delay, which we hope may also be the result of this our narrative."^(a)

A. D. 710, died Brude, King of the Picts, apparently killed in the battle fought this year betwixt the Picts and the Saxons, commanded by their general Berfrid, of which the Saxon Chronicle, after Bede, contains only this short account. Berfrid, commander of the Saxon troops, fought

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cc. 13, 14.

A. D. 710. with the Picts betwixt Heugh and Carau, places near the Pictish Wall, in Northumberland, which shows how far the Picts had gained ground on the Northumbrians, and were still advancing, when Berfrid, to check their pride, as Huntingdon expresses it, marched to oppose them, and gained the battle with a great slaughter of the Picts, and by their defeat revenged the death of King Egfrid and of the General Beort, both slain by the Picts.

The same year (according to the Chronicles of Ireland, as Colgan informs us), died Caideus or Caidinus, Bishop of Yoolmkill; and how many more of the same character, are we deprived of the knowledge of, by the destruction of the records and monuments of that same Abbey?

To King Brude, succeeded his brother Nectan or Naitan, son of Dereli, the third of that name, and the sixty-second king of the Picts, a learned prince, and so zealous for uniformity, not only in doctrine, but in the rites and discipline of the Church. For the divisions that had fallen out in Britain in the former age, and the debates that frequently happened in his time, about Easter and the tonsure, having excited this prince to examine into the grounds of them, he no sooner came to the Pictish crown, but he applied himself to establish in his kingdom the uniform practice observed in almost all other Churches in the celebration of Easter, and the form of the tonsure; of which Bede, living at the time, has left us the following account in his History:—^(b)

At this time, Naitan, King of the Picts, inhabiting the northern parts of Britain, being taught by the assiduous lecture and meditation on ecclesiastical writings, renounced the error he and his nation had till then been engaged in, concerning the observation of Easter; and reduced himself and all his people to celebrate the Catholic time of our Lord's Resurrection. We may observe here, by the by, that the Picts were not that ignorant and barbarous people they are represented by some writers, since not only their clergy and religious men, but the king himself used to apply, and that assiduously, to the reading of such as he could have of the ecclesiastical writings, that is, of the Scripture and Canons. But in order to bring about more easily this reformation in these delicate points, he thought fit to call for the assistance of some of the more learned of the English nation, who, he knew, had long since formed their religious usages and discipline, upon the model of the Apostolical Roman Church.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 21.

A. D. 710.

Accordingly, he sent messengers to the venerable man Ceolfrid, Abbot of the monastery of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, which stands at the mouth of the river Were, in the neighbourhood of the Pictish kingdom, desiring that he would write to him a persuasive letter, by the help of which he might be enabled to confute those that would continue to keep Easter out of the due time, as also concerning the form and manner of tonsure by which the clergy ought to be distinguished, owning that he was himself already somewhat instructed in these matters. The king also prayed the Abbot, that architects might be sent him to build in his nation a church of stone after the Roman manner. The Pictish and Scottish churches, as has been elsewhere observed, had been hitherto, as the rest of their buildings, made of wood; and King Naitan being informed that the Abbot, Benedict Biscop, predecessor to Ceolfrid, had, among other decorations of his church and monasteries, brought from abroad^(a) not only architects for stone buildings, which were grown in desuetude in Britain since the Roman times, but also glaziers to make windows for the church and galleries, an art unknown to Britain till that time; King Naitan being informed, I say, of these and other decorations for the Church and service of God, resolved to have a church built after that manner, and promised to dedicate the same to the honour of S. Peter, prince of the apostles, adding, that he and all his people would always follow the custom of the holy Roman and Apostolical Church, as far as they who lived at such a distance from thence, and whose language was so different, could be informed of it.

The Abbot Ceolfrid, complying with the king's desire and request, sent him the architects he desired, and a long letter concerning Easter and the tonsure, which is set down by Bede, who, living at the time in the same monastery of Yarrow, and being the person of the greatest erudition, and the most skilled in those controverted points of discipline, was in all appearance the penner of this letter; to whom, therefore, for abridging, I refer the reader to see the letter at length, and shall only set down the beginning and end of it.

The letter begins thus:—"To the most excellent Lord and glorious King Naitan, the Abbot Ceolfrid greeting in the Lord. We most readily and willingly endeavour, according to your desire, devout king, to explain to you

^(a) *Vite Abbatum*, p. 295.

A. D. 710. the Catholic observance of holy Easter, according to what we have learned from the Apostolical see ; it being given by Almighty God to the Church, to instruct even the masters of the world, who apply themselves to seek the truth, to teach it, and endeavour to have it observed. For it is most true, what a certain secular writer said, that the world would be most happy, if either kings applied to philosophers, or philosophers reigned ; which if a man could say with truth of the philosophy of this world, he speaking of worldly happiness, how much more it is to be wished and begged of God, with earnest prayers, for the citizens of the heavenly country, during their pilgrimage through this world, that in proportion as their power extends over others, so also they be more diligent to hearken to the commands of the Judge of all men ; and both apply themselves, and by their example and authority, induce those that are committed to their charge to observe the same." After this introduction, Ceolfrid enters into the matter, and in the first part of his letter he treats learnedly, and at length, both of the Jewish Pasch and of the Christian Easter ; and concludes from the reasons and authorities he there sets down, that the calculation and observance of Easter used at Rome, and generally in all other Churches, was the only right, and conformable to Scripture, and the universal tradition since the great Council of Nice ; and that the Scottish, the Pictish, and British calculation and observance of that solemnity were erroneous. In the second part, he treats of the clerical tonsure. But having already treated of both these controverted points of discipline, as far as I thought necessary to give light to the history, I refer the reader for further information to the letter itself, set down at length by Bede, and shall only add here from him the conclusion of it, and the effects it had in the kingdom of the Picts.

Ceolfrid, in the end of his letter, gives an account of the conference which he had, A. D. 688, concerning these two heads of discipline, with Adamnan, Abbot of Ycolmkill, in his last progress to England, and informs the king that Adamnan was so fully persuaded by what he had heard and seen in that voyage, of the preference due to the rules and discipline of the Roman and other Churches abroad, concerning Easter and the form of the tonsure, as we have already related, that he spared no pains to bring over the religious of his own monastery of Ycolmkill to the like practice ; and his labours being unsuccessful as to them, he went to Ireland, where he had more success. In fine, Ceolfrid concludes his letter, with an exhor-

tation to King Naitan, in these respectful words. "I also admonish your wisdom, O King, that you endeavour in all points, with your nation over which the King of kings and Lord of lords has placed you, to observe those things which tend to cement and confirm the unity of the Catholic and Apostolic Church; for by that means it will come to pass, that after your reign in a temporal kingdom, the most blessed prince of the apostles will readily open to you and yours, with the rest of the elect, the entrance into the heavenly kingdom. May the grace of the Eternal preserve you, and grant you a long reign for the peace of us all, my dear beloved son in Christ."

A. D. 710.

The words of the learned abbot: "Over which [kingdom of the Picts] the King of kings and Lord of lords has placed you," contain a clear notion of the right by which the Pictish kings, and from them the kings of Scots, hold their crown immediately from God, independently of all human powers of whatever kind, as has been elsewhere observed,^(*) and particularly an acknowledgment by a famous Saxon writer, that the Pictish kings had no dependence on Northumbrian or Saxon kings, even for their lands and possessions to the south of the Frith, at least since King Egfrid's time.

"This letter," says Bede, "having been read in the presence of King Naitan, and of many of the more learned of his nation, and carefully interpreted into their own language by those who understood it, the king is said to have greatly rejoiced at the exhortation, insomuch that rising from among his great men that sat about him, he knelt on the ground, and rendered thanks to God for having received such a present from England, and then added: 'I knew indeed, before, that this was the true celebration of Easter, but now I so fully see the reason for observing this time, that I perceive I knew but little of it before; wherefore, I publicly declare, and do protest to you all that are here present, that I will, for ever, with all my nation, observe this time of Easter; and I do decree, that this form of tonsure we have heard is most reasonable, and shall be received by all the clergy of my kingdom.'

"Accordingly, he immediately caused this decree to be put in execution by his royal authority." This expression of Bede seems to insinuate that this decree of King Naitan, concerning Easter and the tonsure, was

(*) Crit. Essay, pp. 261, 262, 263, 264.

A. D 710. enacted by his royal authority, without concurrence of the Pictish bishops and clergy, who, being all Columbites, could not easily digest at first an alteration of the discipline to which they had all been bred up and used. Upon this, it happened that though many of the Pictish clergy submitted at first, and complied, partly persuaded by the reasons and authorities contained in Abbot Ceolfrid's letter to the king, (which had been read and explained to them) partly out of regard to the royal authority, and not daring openly to oppose what the king so absolutely commanded: yet, it appears that many of them stood out and adhered to their old usages, and, perhaps, brought over to their party some of those that had yielded at first.

They were, no doubt, in the wrong, as well as the Scots and Britons, being but a handful of Catholics in a corner of the world, in comparison of all the rest of the Church, thus to remain divided from it for bare ceremonial practices, whilst they agreed with it in all that concerned faith and doctrine. But it must be considered that the Pictish clergy, as well as those of the Scots, both in Britain and Ireland, lived in dependence upon Ycolmkill. We have already seen in Bede, how obstinately the Scots, in the north of Ireland, that depended upon that abbey, remained fixed in their old usages, when the Abbot Adamnan went over on purpose to reclaim them a few years ago; notwithstanding that the rest of the Scots of those parts yielded to his exhortations and authority. We have also seen that Adamnan met with no less resistance in his own monastery of Ycolmkill, notwithstanding their dependence on him as their abbot; and this general resistance of the Columbites, both in Ireland and in Britain, to the Abbot Adamnan, a man otherwise so much esteemed, and of so great reputation, and so well deserving it; this resistance, I say, shows that the great authority Bede says the Abbot of Ycolmkill had over the Scots and Picts, is not to be pressed to the rigour.

However, the Scottish and Pictish clergy being bred up in dependence upon Ycolmkill, as we have seen, all along from the time of S. Columba, and having, at their conversion to Christianity by that holy man, with the doctrine and discipline of Christianity, received from him the Easter cycle of eighty-four years, and the form of the tonsure, such as he used; it was no wonder that they would not part with these observances as long as their mother house, Ycolmkill, stood out, as it continued yet four or five years longer to do.

It is not unlike that something, also, of a national jealousy might have influenced the incomppliance of the Pictish and Scottish Columbitcs. We have seen how ill the Bishop Trumwine, otherwise a holy man, was received and used by the Picts, because he was placed over them by the sole authority of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. So, it may very well be, that their reluctance, at this juncture, arose from their apprehension lest the alteration of these points of discipline might look like a submission to Ceolfred, a Saxon abbot, who lived according to a different rule and institute from them. For the rule of St. Benedict, lately introduced by Wilfrid, and by Benedict Biscop, predecessor to Ceolfred, which he observed in his monastery of Weremouth, was entirely new to our Pictish and Scottish clergy and religious, who, all of them Columbitcs, and whose predecessors having planted Christianity among the Saxons of the north, might, apparently, be shocked that Ceolfred, a northern Saxon's advice and instruction, were preferred by their king, even in points of discipline, to theirs, as if they had wanted any instruction from the Saxons or English in religious matters.

A. D. 711.

But whatever were the motives of the reluctance of the Pictish Columbitcs, to alter their calcul of the Easter solemnity, or form of their tonsure, it appears by the Chronicle of Ulster, that they resisted to that degree, as to choose rather to lose their houses, and even to be banished their country, than to submit to the alteration of these heads of their ancient discipline, which had been taught them by S. Columba himself, and practised by so many holy men, his successors and disciples. And, in effect, it appears by the foresaid Chronicle of Ulster, quoted by Bishop Ussher, that most of the Columbite Clergy were actually banished out of Pictland by the same King Naitan. For this Chronicle, speaking of the death of Dunchad, Abbot of Ycolmkill, during whose time happened this embroil and contestation about these points of discipline, and the exile of the Columbitcs, it expresses their banishment in these words. The family of Y,^(a) or Ycolmkill, that is of the Columbitcs, were by King Naitan expelled over Drumalban, that is, out of the Pictish territories, into those of the Scots. For these two kingdoms, says Adamnan, were separated or divided by the hills of Drumalban, as we have elsewhere shown. By this, it appears, that the Pictish Columbitcs, being troubled by their own

^(a) Expulsio familie I trans dorsum Albanie a Nectano Rege. Chron. Ulster, apud Ussher, p. 367.

A. D. 716. king, were obliged to seek refuge among the Scots, who remained under their peaceable king, Eocha, Eogan, or Eugenius the Seventh, unmolested in their usual observances.

But this exile of the Pictish Columbites, is to be understood of those only among them who refused to submit to the canonical observances, to which many of them no doubt yielded; and it lasted only a very few, that is, at most, three or four years, till the coming over of the holy prelate Egbert, who, as we have seen, having been chosen long before by Almighty God, for reclaiming the Columbites, especially those of Ycolmkill, from their irregular practices, had, by the blessing of God, more influence upon them and upon all that depended upon them, than their own abbot Adamnan, as Bede relates; notwithstanding the great power that the same Bede had attributed elsewhere to the Abbot of Ycolmkill. Thus the reformation made in the island by Egbert, is related by Bede.

“Not long after the decree of King Naitan, the Scots monks of the Island of Ycolmkill, with the monasteries that were subject to them, were, by God’s assistance, reduced to the canonical observation of Easter and the tonsure. For, in the year 716^(*) after the Incarnation of our Lord, when King Osred being slain, Coenred took upon him the government of the Northumbrians, the beloved of God, and worthy to be named with all respect, the prelate Egbert, of whom we have more than once made mention already, coming to Ycolmkill, was honourably and joyfully received by the religious men of that place. And he being a most mild and agreeable teacher, and a most devout practiser of all that he prescribed to be done, was most willingly heard by them all; and by his pious and frequent exhortations, he changed that inveterate tradition of their ancestors to whom may be applied, says Bede, those words of the Apostle, that they had the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge, and taught them to celebrate the principal solemnity of Easter after the Catholic and Apostolical manner, as has been said, under the figure of a perpetual circle or cycle. Thus, the monks of Ycolmkill were converted by the instruction of Egbert, under their abbot, Dunohad, about eighty years after they had sent S. Aidan to preach to the English nation; and the man of God, Egbert, remained thirteen years in the foresaid island, which he had consecrated to Christ, as it were, with a new shining light of ecclesiastical

(*) Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 22.

unity and peace." This expression of Bede, "consecrated to Christ," seems an allusion to the episcopal functions; Egbert, as we have elsewhere shown, having been promoted to the degree of bishop; and, no doubt, he exercised the episcopal functions during the last thirteen years of his life that he resided in this island, as in his proper seat, to which he had been in a miraculous manner appointed by the call of Almighty God.

A. D. 716.

Dunchad, Abbot of Ycolmkill, above mentioned, during whose time this reformation of the calendar happened, died upon the twenty-fifth day of May the next year, 717, and was succeeded by Foelchuo, son of Dorbenny. Some write,^(a) that this Foelchuo entered upon that administration, A. D. 714, and that he resigned it to Dunchad, who was certainly abbot, according to Bede, A. D. 716. However, Foelchuo, after he had governed anew during three years, had for successor Killen or Killian, who sat twenty-two years.

From this Abbot Killian or Killen, Colgan gives us a succession of Abbots of Ycolmkill, down to the end of the twelfth age, taken from the Irish Annals, which he quotes, and gives us from them the chronology of this monastery, and of the abbots; to the detail of which I shall refer the reader.

Bede adds to the account of Egbert's reducing the Scots to the canonical observances of Easter and the tonsure, the following reflection upon the wonderful conduct of the providence of God.

"This appears to have been done by a wonderful dispensation of the Divine goodness, to the end, that by reason the Scots had taken care, willingly and without envy, to communicate to the English the knowledge they had of the Divine mysteries, the Scots also should afterwards, by means of a native of England, have communicated to them what was wanting among them of the perfection of the way of living, that is, of the canonical discipline; whereas, on the contrary, the Britons, who would not communicate to the English the knowledge they had of the Christian Faith (whilst now, the English people do believe, and are fully instructed in the rules of the Catholic Faith and observances), do still persist in their old irregular observances to expose their head without a crown, that is, a round tonsure, and keep the solemnity of Christ without the society of the Church."

By this last reflection that Bede makes upon the Britons, it appears

^(a) Colgan, p. 409.

^(b) Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 18.

A. D. 720.

that the labours of Aldhelm (which the same Bede relates^(b)), towards reducing them to the right rule of celebrating Easter, and other canonical observations, had not had great success. And in effect, it appears by a short Chronicle of S. David of Menevia, published by Mr. Wharton in *Anglia Sacra*,^(c) that the canonical observation of Easter was not established among the old Britons till A. D. 770. As to Aldhelm, mentioned here, he had been disciple to Maildulf, a Scotsman, who after living sometime a solitary life in England, set up a famous school of piety and learning, at a place called Maldum, which gave beginning to the monastery called after him Maildulfsbury, and afterwards Malmesbury. Aldhelm was afterwards first Bishop of Shireburn (which in after ages was transferred to Salisbury), was learned for the times, and is the most ancient of the Saxons of whom we have any works remaining. Among other works of Aldhelm, one is his exhortatory letter to Geronte, King of the Britons, written at the instance of a Synod held in order to reclaim the Britons from their uncanonical observations of Easter and the tonsure. Among others of his disciples was Pecthelm, who became afterwards Bishop of Candida Casa or Whithern, upon the restoration of that see, which happened about these times, or not long after. The precise time is not marked, but it certainly fell out when Wilfrid the Second was Bishop of York, where he began to govern, A. D. 718, and was succeeded by Egbert, about A. D. 732. When Bede calls Pecthelm the first Bishop of Whithern, he certainly means only that he was the first after this restoration of this see; for Bede himself had informed us that it was first founded by S. Ninian; and we have elsewhere seen, that S. Ninian had successors in his administration, though we have no account of their names, nor how long the succession continued.

A. D. 720, died Eogan (called by our modern writers, Eugene the Seventh), King of the Scots, and was succeeded by Murdach, their sixteenth king. He was the son of Amkellach, and reigned sixteen years. Buchanan, after Boece, attributes to this king the restoration of the bishopric of Candida Casa (no doubt, because it happened during King Murdach's reign, according to their calculation); but it does not appear that Galloway, in these times, belonged to the Scots. For the Picts were the first that, soon after this, recovered those parts of the island from the Saxons, during the decline of the Saxon power in Northumberland; and from the Picts,

^(b) tom. ii. p. 648.

upon their union with the Scots in the ninth age, Galloway, with the rest of the Pictish territories, came to make a part of the kingdom of the Scots. In Bede's time, Candida Casa belonged to the Saxons.^(a) The same year, Eadfrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, dying, was succeeded by Ethelwald, who had been a disciple of S. Cuthbert,^(b) and Abbot of Melrose, where he received the holy penitent Drythelm; of whom elsewhere. We have few particulars of the life of this holy bishop; but it cannot be doubted that, following the example of his master, S. Cuthbert, and of the other bishops his predecessors, he exercised his pastoral charge over the Picts as well as the Saxons, in those parts of Scotland (belonging then, for the most part, to the Picts), which lay to the south of the Forth.

As to the rest of the Pictish dominions upon the north side of the Forth, we have elsewhere seen that they had bishops of their own; and, though we are left in ignorance, within the country, of their names and succession, yet, for a proof of there being at this time bishops among the Picts, as well as among the Scots, we find this same year, 721, in a council holden at Rome, by Pope Gregory II., against unlawful marriages, and, in particular, all marriages with virgins consecrated to God, and with near relations, are anathematized by the joint consent of all the bishops present: among these, are the names of a bishop of each of the Pictish and Scottish nations present at it, and subscribing to it in these words, "Sedulius, Bishop of Britain, of the race of the Scots; Fergusius or Fergus, a Pictish bishop of Scotland."^(c) Langhorn^(d) conjectures that the Bishop Sedulius's seat was at Dumbarton, but I suppose it more likely at Glasgow, where an episcopal see had been erected, and that Sedulius was one of those successors which the old Chartulary of that Church says that S. Kentigern had at Glasgow. As to Fergusius, it is like he was national Bishop of the Picts.

It is to be remarked that these two are the only stranger bishops whose subscriptions are at this Council; the rest of the subscriptions being generally all of bishops near to Rome, or of Italy; and by this it appears not only that the Scottish and Pictish were in communion with the Apostolic see, and the respect due to the episcopal character equally paid to them at Rome as to the other bishops, even those that depended

^(a) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

^(b) Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 696.

^(c) Con. Gen. tom. vi. col. 1879.

^(d) p. 264.

A. D. 721. immediately upon, and were suffragans of the Pope, as Metropolitan, but that the Scottish and Pictish used in those days to travel to Rome, and visit the holy see, not only in order to satisfy their devotion to the memories of the holy Apostles, S. Peter and S. Paul, but to take directions from thence for their episcopal administration, in the same manner as bishops of other catholic countries were wont to do in those times.

The custom of the Scots travelling abroad in this and following ages, both in order to preach the Gospel, and in pilgrimages of devotion, especially to Rome, is not only recorded by ancient writers, but it became so ordinary, that we find hospitals for the Scottish pilgrims founded on purpose.^(a) We have already made mention of a famous one, founded at Horou in Alsace, in usum pauperum et peregrinorum Scottorum. I shall not dispute, but that of the number of these pilgrims there were Irish, who, in these ages, were often called by the name of Scotti, as well as of the Scots in Britain. But, as I have already observed, having frequently no certain marks to distinguish the one from the other in their foreign journeys, it were to lose one's labour to spend time upon uncertain conjectures.

But the Scots were not the only persons that travelled abroad from our part of Britain, out of devotion, or out of zeal to preach the Gospel. We find the same practice in use among the Picts; and the Bollandian Acts, as well as those of the Benedictines, by Father Mabillon, have set down the Life of S. Vodai or Vodval, a Pictish priest, who, about the same time, that is, in the beginning of the eighth age, left his country, accompanied with one servant called Magnebert, and travelled through several provinces, in order as well to preach the Gospel and instruct the people, and do other works of charity, as to observe and practice the more edifying religious practices he found in the several churches and monasteries which he happened to pass. Being come to Soissons in France, Hildegarde, a lady of great quality, and abbess of a monastery in that city, touched with S. Vodval's merit and eminent sanctity, pressed him so earnestly to stop there, offering him a private cell near the monastery, that he resolved to make his abode there. He therefore shut himself up as a hermit, without going abroad but to say mass, to assist the sick or persons in affliction, to preach the Word of God, or for some other actions of piety. But his greatest concern was for the poor, rendering them in person all spiritual and temporal assistance, and procuring the

^(a) Annal. Ben. tom. ii. p. 660, ex Concil. Melden. A. D. 845.

same relief to them from others. Having left the monastery some time, upon some displeasure of the abbess occasioned by the loss of some plate belonging to her, carried off by some beggars from the holy man's cell, and being miraculously stopped from returning to Pictland, his country, he returned to the monastery, where he was received with universal joy, and continued in his ordinary exercises of retreat, prayers, preaching, and other exercises of his sacerdotal functions the rest of his life, and died in so great reputation of sanctity, accompanied with miracles, that he began to be honoured as a Saint soon after his death, which happened about A. D. 720.

About the same time, lived among the Picts, S. Maolrubius or Mulruy, a religious man of great sanctity of life, who being slain by the Danes or Norwegians in an invasion they made into Ross, A. D. 721, was buried at Apercross, and his memory celebrated as a Martyr upon 21st April.

A. D. 725, died Nectan or Naitan the Third, King of the Picts, famous for his zeal for settling uniformity of ecclesiastical discipline among his subjects, as we have seen. He had for his successors, Drest or Durst the Eighth, and Alpin, who reigned together five years.

A. D. 729, in which the feast of Easter fell upon the eighth of the Kalends of May, the most reverend father, Egbert, after celebrating the solemn mass in memory of our Lord's Resurrection, in the abbey of Yoolmkill (where he had made his residence these last thirteen years bygone), departed, that same day of Easter, to our Lord, and thus consummated the joy of the great festival (which he had begun with the brethren whom he had converted to unity of discipline), with our Lord, the Apostles, and the other citizens of heaven, or rather never ceases to celebrate the same. But it was a wonderful dispensation of Divine providence, says Bede, that this venerable man did not only pass out of this world to the Father on Easter day, but also that this should happen when Easter was celebrated upon a day on which it had never been wont to be kept in those parts. The brethren rejoiced in the certain and catholic knowledge of the time of Easter; they rejoiced in the patronage of their holy father, by whom they had been corrected, confiding that he would now be their patron and intercessor with our Lord, to whom he was gone before. He himself rejoiced and gave thanks to God for his being so long preserved alive, till he saw his hearers admit of, and celebrate with him, that as Easter day, which they had ever before avoided. Thus the most reverend father, being assured of their standing corrected, rejoiced that he might see the day of our Lord. He saw it and was glad.

A. D. 729.

A. D. 731.

A. D. 730, to Durst and Alpin, conjunct Kings of the Picts, succeeded Oengus or Hungus, called also Onnast, son of Ungust, or Fergust the sixty-fourth king of the Picts, a warlike prince, who reigned thirty-one years.

The following year, 731, Bede concluded his Ecclesiastical History of the English nation, and though, as we have elsewhere observed, he does not treat in it of the Scots in Britain, but only by the bye, and in as far as it serves to give light to his main subject, the Ecclesiastical History of England, yet, considering the loss we have made of almost all our ecclesiastical documents and monuments, the transient glimpses that we have found in Bede, of our ecclesiastical matters, serve extremely, to give light into them; and we shall be at no small loss, henceforth, that we are to be deprived of his assistance.

In the conclusion of his History, Bede gives us a short account of the state of Britain, as it was, A. D. 731, containing the names of the kings and bishops in its several provinces; for which the reader may have recourse to Bede's own work. As to the countries adjacent to Scotland, he tells us that Ceolwulf, to whom his History is dedicated, was King of the Northumbrians; Wilfrid, Bishop of York; Ethelwald, Bishop of Lindisfarne; Acca, Bishop of Hexham; and Pecthelm, Bishop of Candida Casa or Whithern, which, says Bede, the number of the faithful being increased, has been lately added to the number of episcopal sees, and has Pecthelm for its first bishop, that is, as has been already observed, for its first bishop after its restoration; for, according to Bede himself, S. Ninian was first Bishop, as well as founder of this see, about three hundred years before, and Ninian had successors, as we have seen elsewhere. Bede continues thus. The nation of the Picts, also, at this time, was at peace with the English nation, and rejoices in being partaker of the Catholic peace and verity with the universal Church (that is, in having now embraced the true calcul of Easter and form of the tonsure, which had so long caused debates and divisions in the Churches of Britain.) The Scots that inhabit Britain being satisfied with their own territories, contrive no mischief against the nation of the English. The Britons, though for the most part they are averse to the English nation, and wrongfully, out of a perverse custom, oppose the celebrating Easter, at the time appointed by the whole Catholic Church, yet both divine and human power opposing them, they can in neither part prevail, as they desire; for though, in part, they are their own masters, yet in some part, they are under sub-

jection to the English. Now, if at this time, either the Picts or the Scots had been in any part under subjection to the English rule, Bede who never misses an opportunity of relating what tended to exalt the power and the glory of his countrymen over their neighbour nations, had not failed to inform us of it no less than of the subjection of a part of the Britons. However, upon this general tranquillity, or rather suspension of war, which happened, at this time, to be more general than ordinary among the different nations that inhabited Britain, Bede makes this remarkable observation: This peaceable and calm disposition of times prevailing, many of the Northumbrians, as well of the nobility as private persons, laying aside their weapons, rather incline to addict themselves and their children to monastic vows, receiving the tonsure, than to study martial discipline. What will be the end of this, says Bede, the next age will be better able to discover? Bede stops short here in his History, and does not tell us further of what he apprehended of the consequences of this general tendency of his countrymen to a monastic life.

A. D. 734.

But what he thought not proper to publish in his History, he expressed with freedom soon after, in a private letter of advice or instruction, sent A. D. 734, to Egbert, Archbishop of York, which was first published by Ware, and more correctly by Dr. Smith, in his new edition of Bede.^(*)

And as there are in this letter, besides the state of ecclesiastical matters in Northumberland, some things that may serve to put in a better light, ecclesiastical transactions in Scotland in the following dark ages, I shall here take notice of some heads of it.

Among other abuses, Bede complains that the monasteries were frequently filled with people of irregular lives; that the country seemed overburdened with these foundations; that there were scarcely estates enow for the laity of condition; and that if this humour increased, the country would grow unfurnished of troops to defend their frontiers. But what is chiefly to be remarked, is another abuse that he mentions; that some persons of quality of the laity, who had neither inclination to, nor experience of, the monastic life, used to purchase some of the crown lands, under pretence of founding a monastery, and then get a charter of privileges signed by the king, the bishops, and other great men of Church and State; and by these expedients, they wrought up a great estate, and

(*) Bed. edit. Smith, p. 306, &c.

A. D. 734. — made themselves lords of several villages; and thus, getting discharged from the service of the commonwealth, they retired for liberty, and indulged their passions; took the name and office of abbots, and calling those places monasteries or abbeys, they stocked them, not with true religious men, but raked together a company of strolling monks, expelled for their misbehaviour; and sometimes persuaded their own retinue to take the tonsure, and promise to them monastic obedience; and, having furnished their pretended monasteries with such an ill-chosen company, they lived a life perfectly secular, under the exterior habit and appearance of monks; brought their wives into the monastery, and were husbands and abbots at the same time; intent, by turns, upon procreating children, and regulating monks, and even allowing their wives to imitate those scandalous ways of profaning the names of a holy state, and to set up monasteries of women. and preside as abbesses over them.

Thus, for about thirty years after the death of King Aldfrid (A. D. 705), the country of the Northumbrians has run in riot, after this manner, insomuch that there are scarce any of the lieutenants or governors of towns, who have not seized the religious jurisdiction of a monastery, and put their wives in the same criminal posts. And as all customs are apt to spread, the king's inferior officers have taken up the same fashion; and thus we find a great many inconsistent offices and titles tacked together, the same persons being often all at once abbots and officers or ministers of state. And men are trusted with the government of religious houses, without practising any part of the obedience and discipline belonging to them. For a remedy of these disorders, Bede advises the Archbishop, to call a Synod, and have a visitation set on foot, and all such unqualified persons thrown out of their usurpations.

In this letter, he insists also upon multiplying the episcopal sees in the province of York, and bringing them up, according to S. Gregory's plan, to the number of twelve; and in order to that, to settle episcopal seats in some monasteries, etc. ^(a)

This was one of the last works of Bede, and it is the more probable opinion that he deceased this year, 735, upon the feast of the Ascension. Malmesbury, after making a great elege of his piety and learning, laments the loss of his industry and abilities in the ages following. He tells

^(a) Col. 124, 125.

us, that after his death, all notice of public transactions in Britain was in a manner buried since his time. The English, as he complains, grew slothful and unlettered, and took no care to come up to the sense and figure of their predecessors; and thus, the inclination of posterity grew daily cooler for improvement, till they dwindled at last to a remarkable ignorance.

A. D. 737.

The same year, 735, died Pecthelm, Bishop of Whithern. He was one of the most distinguished prelates of his time, not only for his piety and zeal, but for his learning and knowledge of ecclesiastical discipline, as appears by the consultation concerning the impediments of marriage, addressed to him by S. Boniface of Mentz, the Apostle of Germany.^(a) Pecthelm was succeeded by Frithewald who sat thirty years.

The year following, 736, Murdach, King of Scots, dying, was succeeded by his son, Eogan or Ewan the Second. And here again the order of succession, such as it is in all our ancient chronicles and catalogues before Fordun, was inverted by him, and Ethfin, who was Eogan or Ewan's successor, placed before him, immediately after King Murdach. This Eogan is called Eugene the Seventh by Fordun, and after him, by our modern writers. He reigned three years. The second year of King Eogan's reign, A. D. 737, Ceolwulf, King of the Northumbrians, to whom Bede dedicated his History, wearied of the world, resigned his kingdom to his cousin Eadbert, and retiring, embraced a religious state in the monastery of Lindisfarne, where he persevered till his death, and enriched that monastery with his treasures and augmentation of their lands and revenues. It was also by the credit of this king, after he became a monk, that a licence was given to the monks of Lindisfarne to drink wine or beer; for till that time, says Hoveden, they were wont to drink only milk and water, according to the institution and ancient tradition of S. Aidan, the first bishop of that place, and of the monks that came along with him from Scotland, and obtained a settlement in that island, as we have seen, by the donation of King Oswald, and there joyfully passed their lives in great strictness and mortification, minding only the life to come.

Thus Hoveden, which Turgot and Simeon, the one Prior, and the other a monk, of Durham pass over in silence.

By this it appears that the evangelical spirit of voluntary poverty, of

(a) Letter ii.

A. D. 737. abnegation of the world and of mortification, to which S. Aidan and our Columbites were bred up in Ycolmkill, as has been observed, and established in all the monasteries which they founded, was such, that the Saxon monks could not long live up to it, especially after the princes and great men of the world began to make their abode among them, and heap riches upon them, which could not fail giving entry in a great measure to the spirit of the world; and the plenty they began to enjoy was naturally followed with cessation or relaxation of labour of their hands, and by degrees, with idleness, and the consequences of it; all this just one hundred years after the foundation of that holy place; and what happened here came by degrees, to be the case with many other such sacred retreats, as we will too often have occasion to observe.

As to Eadburt, successor to King Ceolwulf, he was brother to Egbert, Bishop of York, who had been advanced to the bishoprick two years before. This Bishop Egbert, says Malmesbury, ^(a) by his own prudence and industry, and assisted by the king, his brother's power, reduced the see of York to its first state, having recovered from the apostolical see, the archiepiscopal pall, and the dignity of metropolitan; for Paulinus archbishop of York, being forced to fly away to Kent, carried his pall with him. He left it at Rochester, where he sat bishop till his death; and those that succeeded him in the see of York, till this Egbert, had contented themselves with the simple title of bishop, without aspiring higher. It was to this Bishop Egbert that Bede addressed the instructions and advices already mentioned. He was a man of parts, and a great encourager of learning, for which reason he set up a famous school and noble library in York, as we see by Alcuin's letters, who had been bred up under him.

As to our King, Eogan the Second, our modern historians, who wrote since the invention of Veremund, give a very different account of this king, and of his subjects' behaviour towards him, from what Fordun had given before him. Fordun informs us ^(b) that he was a humble and modest prince; that he chose to pass the time of his reign either in peace, as being more beneficial to his subjects, than in war; that being given to hunting, as most princes then were, he annoyed only wild beasts, and not men; that by his wise behaviour, whilst he gained the favour and affection of his neighbour

^(a) Fol. 153.

^(b) Scotchchron. lib. iii. c. 45.

princes, he employed his leisure in polishing and adorning with good laws his own kingdom. Thus Fordun, and it is confirmed by all our monastic writers, his followers, till Boece published the Veremundian scheme of our history (contrived in the dark, after king James the Third's death, and presented to Boece as a new discovery of the ancient achievements of the Scots.) According to this new draught, King Eugene the Eighth, as they call him, or Ewan the Second, gave, indeed, at his entry upon the administration, hopes of a good prince and happy reign, being a severe justiciary, and reforming the disorders which he found had prevailed in the end of the former reign; but he soon altered his course, and becoming a monster of all sorts of lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and sacrilege; and refusing to give ear to the wholesome admonitions of the bishops, in the third year of his reign he was put to death by his nobles, and all his familiars and servants hanged up, which was an agreeable spectacle to the people. Thus Boece and Buchanan, of which Fordun has nothing.

A. D. 739.

To this King Eogan or Ewan the Second, succeeded Ethfin, son to Eochod Rinneval, who, as we have observed, is named by Fordun and his followers, Eugene the Fifth or Sixth, while in the five extracts of our ancient Chronicles, he is ranked by them all (as may be seen in the Appendix to the Essay,) immediately after King Ewan the Second, called Eugene the Eighth. He is placed in the same order in a sixth abstract of our Chronicles, to wit, that series of our kings inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, which, though it be not of the same hand nor equally ancient as this Chronicle itself, as we have already observed, yet appears to be of a very ancient hand, and certainly is anterior to Fordun's new scheme of our kings, and differs from it in everything that the five abstracts set down in the Appendix to the Essay differ from Fordun, and as far as it contains, agrees with the other five abstracts both in the names and order of succession of our kings. Now the entire harmony and agreement of these six abstracts of our ancient Chronicles (the only Chronicles I have ever met with written before Fordun,) appear to me, an evidence of the innovations made by him, not only in addition of forty-five ancient kings before Fergus son of Erch (as has been elsewhere shewn,) but in the names and order of succession of several of the kings, posterior to this king Fergus; and Fordun having been looked upon and followed as the standard of our history, by all that I have seen of our writers since publishing his Chronicle, excepting James Gray's abstracts alone (for Winton wrote before

A. D. 750. Fordun's was published,) all this being supposed, I hope the learned and candid readers will agree, that in setting down the names and order of succession of the kings, I could not rationally choose but prefer to Fordun's new scheme, the concordant testimonies of so many witnesses writing or setting down abstracts taken from our ancient records and Chronicles, whilst they were still in being, and that before the end of the thirteenth age, when, as is generally believed, in King Edward the First's ravaging our country, the chief records and monuments of history were either carried off, destroyed, or dissipated, which gave occasion to new schemes of our history, and chiefly to that of Fordun, as the reader may see set down at length in the Critical Essay.

To return to King Ethfin. The account that Fordun gives of him is, that he behaved in a manner worthy of the royal dignity, and entertained peace with the neighbouring princes the most part of his reign, which lasted thirty years; only towards the end of it he was attacked by the Picts. Our modern writers give also a good character of this king, and tell us he was a severe justiciary, and held his kingdom in peace; and, that under his government, his subjects increased in spiritual and temporal advantages.

A. D. 740, died Ethelwald, Bishop of Lindisfarne; and, in that quality, having had the spiritual charge of the Pictish and other inhabitants of Scotland, to the south of the Forth, as his predecessors and successors had, till the erection of the see of St. Andrews, in the next age. To Ethelwald, succeeded Cynewulf, in the bishoprick of Lindisfarne, and sat about forty years. The same year the Picts, under their king, Onnust, or Hungus, had war with Eadbert, King of the Northumbrians,^(a) and with the Britons, two years afterwards.^(b)

A. D. 750, whilst Engus, King of the Picts, was engaged in war against Ethelwald, King of the Mercians, Eadbert, King of the Northumbrians, invaded the Pictish territories, and possessed himself of the country of Kyle, which the Picts had wrested from the Cumbrians, or Britons, of these parts. Soon after, the same King Eadbert seized upon Cynewulf Bishop of Lindisfarne, and imprisoned him in Bamburgh, and besieged the church and monastery of Lindisfarne.

^(a) Laog. p. 279.

^(b) Chron. Mayl. p. 136.

A. D. 755, S. Boniface, otherwise Winfrid, the Apostle of Germany, and Archbishop of Mentz, suffered martyrdom in Friseland, upon the fifth of June, about twenty years after his first mission to Germany, in the thirty-sixth year of his episcopal consecration. He is deservedly looked upon as the Apostle of Germany, the restorer of ecclesiastical discipline in France, and one of the chief encouragers and propagators of learning, especially by the famous school he settled in the monastery which he founded at Fulda. I mention him here because some modern writers reckon him a Scotsman ; but it must be acknowledged that all the more ancient writers, as well as the more learned among the moderns, assure us that he was a Saxon, or an Englishman, born and bred up from his infancy in Devonshire.

A. D. 756.

There would appear some more likelihood in what our modern writers pretend, that the famous Alcuin, who about this time presided over the schools of York, was a Scotsman, since he was born in the northern parts of Britain, included in or bordering upon what makes long since a part of the Kingdom of Scotland. Alcuin, or Alcuinus, was his true name, which he afterwards changed into that of Albinus, adding to it the name of Flaccus.^(a) I observe this because our modern writers have multiplied the same person, according to his different names. Alcuin himself informs us that he was educated at York, under Bishop Egbert, who chiefly contributed to make all kinds of learning flourish in the schools of that city, whereof Alcuin was one of the greatest ornaments ; and there it was also that this archbishop collected a noble library. He was afterwards invited over to France, by the emperor, Charles the Great, who did not think it below him to become his disciple in improving himself, as much as the public affairs allowed him, in all kinds of literature. It was chiefly by Alcuin's exhortations that this emperor set up, in several places of the empire, public schools of learning ; among others, at Tours, but especially at Paris ; which gave afterwards the origin to this famous university, whereof, for that reason, the same emperor was reputed the founder.

A. D. 756, Eadbert, King of the Northumbrians, and Engus, King of the Picts, having made up their differences, which had occasioned several wars betwixt them, as we have seen, united their forces and attacked jointly the strong city of Alclud or Dunbarton, the chief fortress of the

^(a) Ann. Bened. tom. ii. p. 186.

A. D. 761. Midland Britons, or Cumbrians, and the seat of their kings in the north of Britain, where it appears their power was as yet in these times very considerable, since it required the united forces of these two kings to subdue them; and from this time the power of the Cumbrian kings began to decline in these parts. The year following, died, upon the sixth of March, S. Balther, who led an anchoritical life at Tynningham, in Lothian, at or near the famous monastery, whereof Bede makes mention in S. Cuthbert's Life. But by the account of his life, which we have in a poem concerning the Bishops of York, written, about these times, by the famous Alcuin, a contemporary writer, it appears that S. Balther's ordinary residence or retreat was the isle of the Bass ^(*) surrounded everywhere with high rocks.

Here, Alcuin relates, that this holy hermit did many miracles, such as overcoming the devils by the sign of the cross, walking upon the sea, &c.

Soon after, 758, followed the retreat of Eadbert, King of the Northumbrians, who, inflamed, says Florence, with the love of his heavenly country, embraced the monastical state, and the Chronicle of Melrose says, he became Canon of York, under his brother, Archbishop Egbert. However, he resigned his kingdom to his son, Osulf, who, after a year's reign, was killed by the Northumbrians, and Ethelwold, surnamed Moll, succeeded to him.

A. D. 761, died Cengus, called also Unnust and Hungus, the first of that name, King of the Picts. He had been a very warlike prince, as we have seen, by his battles with the Northern Britons or Cumbrians, the Northumbrians, and other Saxons, upon whom, it seems, he kept a heavy hand, which, it is like, has given occasion to some of their writers to call him a bloody and cruel prince, and to characterise his reign as a continual butchery. To this King Hungus, succeeded Bride or Brude, the sixth of that name, and the sixty-fifth king of the Picts. He was son to Wirgust or Fergus, and having reigned only two years, A. D. 763, to him succeeded Kinioch or Kinoth, the son of Wirdech. He was the sixty-sixth king of the Picts, and reigned twelve years. He appears to have been one of the most powerful of the northern kings of Britain in his time, and a protector of those of his neighbouring princes that fell into distress; and though he be not mentioned in Fordun's and the other Scots modern catalogues of the Pictish kings, yet he is more than once named by Simeon of Durham, by Roger Hoveden, and by the Chronicle of

^(*) Scriptor. XV. tom. iii. p. 726.

Melrose. He is placed in his own rank with other kings, by the Pictish Chronicle, which demonstrates its authenticity, as it has been elsewhere observed.^(a) A. D. 775.

The second year of his reign, A. D. 764, died Frithwald, Bishop of Galloway or Whithern, and had Pectwin for his successor, who sat thirteen years. A. D. 766, died Egbert, Archbishop of York, and was succeeded by Albert, of whom Alcuin makes a great eloge,^(b) having been bred up under him, and settled keeper of the rich library which Albert and his predecessor Egbert had made up at York, and placed Alcuin as master or superior of the famous seminary or school of York.

A. D. 769, Ethfin, King of the Scots, being deceased, was succeeded by his son Fergus, called by our modern writers, Fergus the Third, but in reality the Second of that name. Fordun tells us, that it was reported that this king, being suspected by his queen to entertain other women, was, out of jealousy, poisoned by her, in the third year of his reign; for which crime she, being tormented by a desperate remorse, put violent hands on herself.

A. D. 772, to Fergus succeeded Selvach, son of Eogan or Ewen the Second, and reigned twenty-four years. Our writers are divided as to the character of this king. Fordun blames him for his indolence and inactivity, in not making use of the almost perpetual divisions and tumults that raged among the Northumbrians, to gain ground upon the Saxons, and advance the bounds of his own kingdom.^(c) Boece and Buchanan speak of him with more esteem, and lay the cause of his inactivity upon the gout with which he was sore vexed, and, therefore, obliged to employ his great men in the administration.

A. D. 775, died Kinoth or Kineoch, King of the Picts, who, the year before, had granted shelter to Alcred, King of the Northumbrians, to protect him against his rebellious subjects. Kineoch died in the twelfth year of his reign, and was succeeded by Alpin, son of Wroid, who reigned three years and a half. The second year of his reign, 777, the bishopric of Galloway falling vacant by the death of Pectwin, to him succeeded Ethelbert, and sat fourteen years, and exercised the episcopal functions over the western provinces of Scotland, especially to the south of the Friths;

^(a) Critical Essay, p. 113.

^(b) De Pont. Ebor. tom. iii. XV. Scriptor. pp. 727—731.

^(c) Fordun, lib. iii. c. 47.

A. D. 778. Lothian and the other south-eastern territories of Scotland or Pictland being, as we have seen, under the government of the Bishops of Lindisfarne, whilst the other provinces of the Scots and Picts to the north of the Friths were governed and had pastors of the second Order furnished them, chiefly from bishops residing in Ycolmkill, in the manner that we have elsewhere observed; and though the records of that abbey be generally perished long ago, we have sufficient documents to show that it still subsisted in great splendour, under an uninterrupted succession of abbots, from Dunchad, already mentioned, who lived in Bede's time, during the rest of this eighth age.

As to the Bishops of Lindisfarne, who governed and furnished pastors to Lothian and the other eastern territories of the Trans-forthian Picts, during the rest of this age, A. D. 780, Cynewulf, before mentioned, having exchanged his pastoral charge with a retreat, Higbald was chosen his successor, and sat bishop twenty-three years, till the end of this century.

Meantime, A. D. 778, Alpin, the sixty-seventh king of the Picts, had for his successor Drest or Durst the Ninth, son of Talorgan, who reigned four years. To him succeeded (782), Talorgan, son of Onnust, and after a reign of two years, Talorgan had (784), for successor Canaul, son of Tarbu, who reigned five years; and this was the last of the seventy Pictish kings, contained in the abstract of the Pictish Chronicles, and so often mentioned in all the most ancient Irish monuments of history, as has been elsewhere shown, containing their names and series of their succession, from Cruthne their first king, whom the Irish call Catluan, to Constantine the son of Fergus, who succeeding to this Canaul, was seventy-first king of the Picts, and reigned thirty years.

He was son to Fergus or Urgus, and besides his brother Oengus or Hungus (named also Unnust), who succeeded him, and continued the race, he had a sister called Fergusian, who was married afterwards to Eocha or Achaius the Second, King of Scots. It was to this Constantine, King of the Picts, that Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, upon their rebellion, fled for refuge, and lived under his protection, which shows that he was a powerful prince. But what chiefly recommended his memory to posterity, was his piety, which particularly appeared by the foundation or rather restoration of the Church of Dunkeld, under the invocation of S. Columba, who had in his own time begun a monastery there, and settled a society of religious men, as has been observed in its proper place. But this Constantine is reckoned by Winton, and Abbot Milne, in the

History of the Bishops of Dunkeld, the founder of it, because he caused restore the church and other buildings, and endowed it with revenues for the subsistence of the churchmen that performed Divine Service in it. But Abbot Milne is certainly mistaken, in placing this foundation of it in the time of Abbot Adamnan of Ycolmkill, for that abbot died, as we have seen, A. D. 703, about eighty years before Constantine came to the throne. Milne tells us, that the religious persons placed in it for performing Divine Service were called Killdees, which, as we observed elsewhere, was the vulgar name given in those days to churchmen in our country, especially to those that lived together in communities. They were originally the same with the Columbites, formerly so called, because they followed the rule of S. Columba, of whose institutes and usages, enough has been already said.

A. D. 791.

But as to the time of the first foundation of Dunkeld, we have the era of it thus marked by the author of the *Scotichronicon*, who quotes the *Chronicle of Abernethy*, where the writer informs us, that in one *Chronicle*, the foundation of Dunkeld was placed two hundred and twenty-six or two hundred and twenty-seven years after that of Abernethy, and in another, two hundred and forty-four. Now, if we reckon the era of Abernethy, not from its first establishment by King Nectan, about A. D. 541, but from its restoration or new foundation, by King Garnard or Gartney the First, about the year 586, in S. Columba's time, as seems to be the meaning of the author of this passage; it will be found, that his reckoning answers exactly to that we follow here, in the reign of King Constantine. For adding to A. D. 586, the two hundred and twenty-six years that passed betwixt the foundation of Abernethy and Dunkeld, this last will be found to have happened A. D. 812, the twenty-fourth of King Constantine's reign.

A. D. 791, died Ethelbert, Bishop of Galloway, and was succeeded by Beadulf, after whom, says Malmesbury, we find no more, because that Galloway being exposed to the ravages of the Scots or Picts, all things going to confusion in that country, the episcopal succession may have soon failed. Yet I find in a series of these bishops, in a very ancient M.S. of the Cottonian Library, that after Beadulfus, there was one Eadredus; by which, it appears, that it might have subsisted till about the time of the union of the Scots and Picts, which, as we will see, was soon after

A. D. 796. followed by the translation of the episcopal seat of the Picts, from Abernethy to St. Andrews.

Towards the end of this eighth age, we meet with the first accounts of the invasions and ravages made by a northern people, first upon the coasts of Ireland, of Britain, and of France. This people are commonly called Danes, because they came from Denmark, Norway, and the other northern countries, for which reason they were called by the French writers Nordmans, by the Irish writers Ostmans, Oostmann, because the country they came from lay towards the east or north-east from Ireland. They are called sometimes Dubh-Galli, that is, the Black Strangers.

Their first attempts were upon the coasts of these several countries, where, finding no great opposition, and countries more plentiful than their own, they came frequently back in great numbers, and by degrees, made great establishments in these several countries, especially in Ireland, England, and France, and in the Western Islands of Scotland.

In their invasions on our Western Islands, they attacked and pillaged, several times, Ycolmkill; and in one of them they killed Blaithmac, Abbot of Ycolmkill, and most of his religious men. The precise year is not certain; Colgan places it about A. D. 823. The martyrdom of this holy abbot, and of his disciples, is set down in verse by Walafrid Strabo, who wrote in the following age.

A. D. 796, Selvach, King of Scots, dying, was succeeded by Eocha or Achaius the Third, son of Ethfin, who reigned thirty years. He was contemporary to Charles the Great, who, having succeeded to his father Pepin, A. D. 768, in the kingdom of France, became afterwards Emperor of the Occident, and by his great actions, military and religious, deservedly obtained the title of Great. All our writers from Fordun, downwards, place about these times the beginning of the ancient league betwixt the French and the Scots, first contracted, say they, betwixt Charles the Great, and this Achaius, King of Scots. I have given my opinion of this league, in the Critical Essay, page 296, &c.

A. D. 818, died Constantine, son of Fergus or Urgus, the seventy-first king of the Picts, and had for successor his brother Hungus or Unnust, the eleventh of that name, who reigned, according to the Pictish Chronicle, twelve years; others give him only ten years of reign, which agrees better with the time. King Hungus is famous in our history for the foundation of the Church of Kilrimund, so well known afterwards by the name of

St. Andrews, because of the relics of that Apostle—brought thither, and held in great veneration, with frequent pilgrimages of devotion to visit them the following ages. A. D. 818.

THE END.

I N D E X.

INDEX TO THE NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES.

ABERCORN, 270, 277.
 Abernethy, 79, 97, 157, 189, 207, 211, 331, 332.
 Adamnan, S., abbot of Iona, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 262, 268, 278, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 299, 300, 301, 310, 312.
 Adamnan of Coldingham, 268, 271.
 Adrian, 8.
 Agricola, 4, 5, 7, 8.
 Aidan, king of the Scots, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 209, 210.
 Aidan, S., bishop of Lindisfarne, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 237, 238, 245, 246, 247, 253, 257, 260, 262, 263, 269.
 Aidus, the Black, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183.
 Alehfrid, 233, 240, 241, 242, 244, 246, 256, 258, 261.
 Aleluyd, 34, 35, 46, 91, 93, 121, 122, 126, 133, 198, 327.
 Alcred, king of Northumbria, 329.
 Aldfrid, king of Northumbria, 261, 278, 284, 286, 287, 288, 290, 298, 303, 322.
 Aleth, king of the Picts, 132.
 Alpin, king of the Picts, 319, 320.
 Alpin, son of Wroid, king of the Picts, 329, 330.
 Amberkellach, king of the Scots, 301.
 Apercross, 319.
 Areulfus, 287, 300.
 Artchain, 179, 180, 189, 204.

BAITHENEUS, abbot of Iona, 205, 213.
 Baldred, (Balthar) S., 155, 328.
 Beadulf, bishop of Candida Casa, 331.
 Blaitthmac, S., 216, 332.
 Blane, S., 161.
 Boisil, S., 230, 231, 241, 244, 265, 279, 292.
 Brendan, S., 204.
 Broichan, 197.
 Brude, son of Meilochon, king of the Picts, 132, 152, 193, 196, 197, 206, 207.
 Brude, king of the Picts, 224.
 Brude, son of Bill, king of the Picts, 264, 276, 299.
 Brude, son of Dereli, king of the Picts, 299, 307, 308.
 Brude, king of the Picts, 323.

CADROE, S., 216.
 Caidius, 308.
 Campo Lunghe, 189, 204, 205.
 Cannul, king of the Picts, 330.
 Candida Casa, 42, 43, 44, 45, 114, 317.
 Cealtrain, king of the Picts, 128.
 Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons, 233, 234, 235, 236, 248, 254, 257.
 Ceollach, bishop of the Mercians, 240.
 Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria, 326, 330.
 Chad (Ceadda), S., bishop of Lichfield, 257, 258, 259, 260, 296.
 Coenred, king of Northumbria, 314.
 Coldingham, 238, 263, 271.

- Colman, S., bishop of Lindisfarne, 161,
244, 247, 248, 249, 251, 252, 253,
254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 265, 269,
294, 295.
- Colmuck, S., 161.
- Columba, S., 140, 141, 145, 148, 149,
150, 151, 152, 153, 162, 163, 164,
165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171,
172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 179, 180,
181, 182, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191,
192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200,
201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207,
209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215,
216, 217, 220, 291, 293, 301, 331.
- Congal, king of the Scots, 117, 118,
128.
- Conain, abbot of Iona, 301.
- Conal, king of the Scots, 128, 132, 151,
152, 153, 162, 191, 200.
- Constantine the Great, 22, 23, 24.
- Constantine, king of Cumbria, 133.
- Constantine, king of the Picts, 330, 332.
- Constantius Chlorus, 20, 21, 22.
- Cormac, S., 206.
- Cronan, 174, 175, 176.
- Culross, 125.
- Cumian, 222.
- Cuminus, abbot of Iona, 141, 145, 240,
261.
- Cunningham, 297.
- Cuthbert, S., bishop of Lindisfarne, 229,
230, 231, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246,
254, 263, 265, 274, 275, 276, 279,
280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 286.
- Cynwulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, 326,
330.
- DERMITIUS, 212, 214.
- Devenich, S., 161.
- Diuma, bishop of the Mercians, 233,
239, 240.
- Domangard, king of the Scots, 117,
118.
- Donald I., king of the Scots, 222, 223,
224, 225, 236, 237.
- Drest, king of the Picts, 128.
- Drythelm, 227, 298, 317.
- Dumbarton—see Alcluyd.
- Dunchad, abbot of Iona, 313, 314, 315.
- Dunkeld, 189, 330, 331.
- Durst, son of Irb, king of the Picts, 95,
96.
- Durst Gormoth, king of the Picts, 107,
118.
- Durst, son of Gyrom, king of the Picts,
128.
- Durst, son of Adrost, king of the Picts,
128.
- Durst, son of Moneth, king of the Picts,
132.
- Durst, son of Wide, king of the Picts,
253, 254.
- Durst, king of the Picts, 319, 320.
- Durst, king of the Picts, 330.
- Duthac, S., 161.
- EADBERT, bishop of Lindisfarne, 283,
284.
- Eadbert, king of Northumbria, 323, 324,
326, 327, 328.
- Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, 317.
- Eata, bishop of Lindisfarne, 230, 231,
240, 241, 242, 244, 254, 256, 261,
265, 267, 270, 279, 281, 286.
- Ebba, abbess of Coldingham, 246, 262,
263, 270, 272, 279.
- Egbert, 274, 275, 289, 291, 292, 293,
294, 314, 315, 319.
- Egfrid, king of Northumbria, 261, 262,
264, 265, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278,
279, 280, 281, 286, 290, 299.
- Eocha I., king of the Scots, 203, 204.
- Eocha II., king of the Scots, 296, 301.
- Eocha III., king of the Scots, 332.
- Eogan I., king of the Scots, 302, 314,
316.

Eogan II., king of the Scots, 323, 324, 325.
 Ethelbert, bishop of Candida Casa, 329, 331.
 Ethelwald, bishop of Lindisfarne, 297, 298, 317, 320, 326.
 Ethelwald, king of Northumbria, 328.
 Ethernan, S., 161.
 Ethernase, S., 161.
 Ethfin, king of the Scots, 325, 326, 329.
 Ethica, 261.
 FAILBE, abbot of Iona, 261, 268, 287.
 Ferchard I., king of the Scots, 222, 223, 224, 225.
 Ferchard II., king of the Scots, 261, 266, 294, 295, 296.
 Fergus, son of Erch, king of the Scots, 112, 113, 117.
 Fergus II., king of the Scots, 329.
 Fergus S., 161.
 Finan, S., bishop of Lindisfarne, 227, 231, 232, 233, 234, 239, 244, 246, 247, 248, 263, 269.
 Finbar, S., 161.
 Fiudehan, 179, 180, 181, 182.
 Foelchno, abbot of Iona, 315.
 Fordun, 65, 66.
 Frithwald, bishop of Candida Casa, 322, 329.
 GALAM, king of the Picts, 132.
 Galaaan, king of the Picts, 118, 128.
 Galgacus, 7.
 Garnaad, son of Wide, king of the Picts, 222, 225, 258.
 Gartnach, son of Gyrom, king of the Picts, 128.
 Gartnach, son of Domnath, king of the Picts, 207, 208, 211.
 Gauran, king of the Scots, 128, 132.
 Gildas, S., 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 198, 199, 200.

Glaseian, S., 161.
 Glasgow, 126, 132, 134, 135.
 HEREFRIE, 282.
 Higbald, bishop of Lindisfarne, 330.
 Hilda, abbess of Whitby, 237, 238, 248, 268, 269.
 Himba, 189, 200.
 Hungus, son of Ungust, king of the Picts, 320, 326, 327, 328.
 Hungus, king of the Picts, 332.
 Hy—see Iona.
 IONA, 152, 153, 154, 158, 162, 163, 164, 165, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 205, 207, 210, 211, 212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 222, 224, 227, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 253, 253, 261, 276, 278, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 292, 293, 294, 299, 300, 301, 302, 312, 313, 314, 319, 324, 330, 332.
 KENTIGERN, S., 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139, 202.
 Killdune, 189.
 Killen, abbot of Iona, 315.
 Kilpatrick, 34, 36.
 Kineoch, king of the Picts, 222.
 Kinnoth, king of the Picts, 328, 329.
 LIBRANUS, 205.
 Lindisfarne, 227, 230, 232, 234, 235, 236, 239, 241, 253, 254, 258, 275, 279, 280, 282, 584, 285, 323, 330.
 Lolan, S., 161.
 Lollius Urbicus, 8, 9.
 MACHAN, S., 161.
 Machar, S., 189, 194.

- Malduin, king of the Scots, 237, 261.
 Manir, S., 161.
 Maolrubius, S., 319.
 Marken, king of Cumbria, 126, 132.
 Marnan, S., 161.
 Marnoch, S., 161.
 Melrose, 229, 230, 231, 240, 241, 255, 281, 297.
 Modoeh, S., 161.
 Moloch, S., 161.
 Murdaeh, king of the Scots, 316, 323.
 Murdach, S., 161.

 NATHALAN, S., 161.
 Nectan I., king of the Picts, 96, 97, 107, 207.
 Nectan II., king of the Picts, 211.
 Nectan III., king of the Picts, 308, 309, 311, 313, 314, 319.
 Ninian, S., 32, 33, 34, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 114.

 ORAN, S., 192.
 Osred, king of Northumbria, 303, 318.
 Osulf, king of Northumbria, 328.
 Oswald, king of Northumbria, 224, 225.
 Oswin, king of Deira, 225, 226.
 Oswy, king of Northumbria, 225, 227, 232, 233, 237, 239, 248, 249, 254, 256, 257, 258, 260, 261.

 PALLADIUS, S., 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66.
 Patrick, S., 88, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103.
 Peetbalm, bishop of Candida Casa, 304, 306, 316, 320, 323.
 Peetwin, bishop of Candida Casa, 329.

 REDEREC, king of Cumbria, 132, 133.
 Ronan, S., 161.
 Ronan, 247.

 ST. ANDREWS, 332, 333.
 Segenius, abbot of Iona, 222, 232.
 Selvach, king of the Scots, 329, 332.
 Servanus, S., 65, 123, 125, 161.
 Severus, 16, 17, 18.
 Suibne, abbot of Iona, 240.

 TALARG, king of the Picts, 96.
 Talarg, son of Muireholach, king of the Picts, 128, 132.
 Talarican, S., 161.
 Talorcan, son of Enfret, king of the Picts, 240.
 Talorgan, king of the Picts, 380.
 Taran, king of the Picts, 299.
 Tenew, S., 125.
 Ternan, S., 157.
 Thalarg, king of the Picts, 225, 240.
 Theodosius, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.
 Trumwine, bishop of Abercorn, 270, 275, 277, 280.
 Tuda, bishop of Lindisfarne, 253, 254.
 Tunbert, bishop of Hexham, 270, 275, 279.
 Tynningham, 230, 238, 281, 328.

 ULFIUS MARCELLUS, 13.

 VERCA, abbess of Tynningham, 281, 282.
 Virius Lupus, 13.

 WHITHERN,—see Candida Casa.
 Wilfrid, bishop of York, 241, 242, 244, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 284, 290, 296, 303, 304.
 Wollock, S., 161.

 YCOLMKILL,—see Iona.
 Yrchard, S., 161.



